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SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IN SMALL WORK GROUPS*

Enid M. Mumford

The material on which this paper is based was collected during the course of an enquiry undertaken in the docks industry by the Department of Social Science of the University of Liverpool.¹ The aim of the research project described here was to observe, analyse and compare group norms of behaviour operating in a number of similar work situations, and with this end in view studies were made in three dock canteens by means of concealed participant observation. This method was selected as it was considered that its use would not significantly disturb group behaviour and attitudes, and data could be obtained through participation in the groups' day-to-day experiences.² Observation was facilitated by the isolated nature of the work situations and the small numbers employed. These factors, by limiting the amount of group interaction, made it possible to study social processes in some detail.

Data obtained in the canteens suggested a number of conclusions concerning the attractions of group membership, the purposes groups serve for their members, inter- and intra-group status and leadership and the sanctions imposed by groups to ensure conformity of behaviour. These conclusions will be presented here and evaluated in the light of hypotheses put forward in other studies of small groups.

Observed behaviour suggested that group norms emerged in order to fulfil particular objectives of individuals within the group or of the group itself. These objectives appeared to be, firstly, the individual's desire for the social satisfactions of intimate group life, seen in the formation of sub-groups and the emergence of norms

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concerning rank and status. Secondly, the group's need to maintain its identity in order to provide these social satisfactions, seen in the emergence of norms directed at protecting the group from outside interference and norms helping to increase group cohesiveness. Thirdly, the advancement of the personal aspirations of individual group members, seen in norms directed at the achievement of specific goals, and fourthly, the desire of both individual and group to conform with standards of behaviour expected by the outside community, seen in the transfer of community norms to the group.

Normative behaviour in the three canteens will be described and analysed in terms of these objectives. Homans³ definition of norms as the ideas a group has concerning how its members shall behave; ideas which are enforced by the group's exercise of sanctions whenever a member fails to conform to its expectations, will be accepted as valid for the purposes of this paper.

Structure and Status.

In two of the three canteens it seemed that a split into sub-groups occurred when the numbers in the original group became too large for the existence of intimate social relationships, or when there was conflict between one set of individuals and another. Canteen A had a staff of fourteen which split, for both work and leisure time activities, into four sub-groups. Sub-group S, the supervision, consisted of the manageress, assistant manageress and cook; sub-group one, of five canteen hands aged between 21 and 53, four of them married; sub-group two, of four canteen hands aged between 15 and 21, all unmarried, and sub-group three, of two 'kitchen women' aged between 50 and 60. Two girls in sub-group one and one girl in sub-group two were 'fringe members,' that is they were only partially accepted by their groups. Canteen B had a staff of seven—manageress, cook, and five canteen hands all under 21. There was no split into sub-groups as the five girls formed one group, leaving the manageress completely isolated and the cook partially so. Canteen C had a staff of five—manageress, cook and three canteen hands. Here the entire staff, including the manageress, formed one integrated group with no isolates or fringe members.

Festinger⁴ has suggested that individuals tend to join those groups with norms similar to their own. This was true of the separation into sub-groups. In canteen A, sub-group membership was largely determined by similarities of age, social status, attitude and interest.

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Thus sub-group one contained the older hands who had husbands and domestic interests in common, and sub-group two, the younger girls who were out for a good time and boy friends. Sub-group three, however, unlike the other two, was split off as a result of an occupational status difference, for the 'kitchen women' were looked down on by the rest because their work was limited to the 'scrubbing out' of the kitchen. Their low status was emphasised by their inferior sounding title and by the fact that they were issued with green overalls instead of the customary white.

In canteen B where discipline was very strict, supervisory norms concerning work and conduct conflicted with those of the hands, hence the isolation of the manageress and the partial isolation of the cook who was pulled between the two groups. Canteen C, on the other hand, was a very happy work place and here there was no conflict of norms. The manageress was pleasant and easy going and the work group was small enough to absorb her as a member. In addition, manageress and girls were united through their dislike of a visiting supervisor who inspected the canteen at regular intervals.

Although, under normal conditions, the sub-groups in canteens A and B could be readily distinguished, they were by no means static, and their size changed according to the function they were performing at any one time. Thus, in canteens A and B, both supervision and hands would band together as one united group when threatened by complaints or criticism from outside groups such as the dockers or the port authorities.

Homans suggests that as soon as two sub-groups are set apart from one another and are conscious of their differences one of the two will feel superior to the other and this superiority will be related to the ability of the sub-group to approach the norms of the group as a whole. Behaviour in canteen A supported the first part of this hypothesis, but if Homans' definition of a norm is accepted, the second part was true of group 'ideals' but not of group 'norms.' Group norms concern expected behaviour that is controlled by sanctions. Ideals are the 'levels of aspiration' a group or individuals in the group hold and there is no punishment for inability to attain these. In the canteens the younger girls desired to be older, to be attractive and to be married and inter-group status was associated with the realisation of these ideals and not with conformity to norms. The members of sub-group one in canteen A had achieved these goals and they therefore felt and were looked upon as being superior

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to sub-group two. Sub-group one demonstrated their superiority by making sub-group two fetch and carry for them and by giving instruction on politeness and correct behaviour.

In contrast to the situation observed by Mayo⁵ in the bank wiring room of the Western Electric Company where occupational groupings tended to cut across leisure-time groupings, in the three canteens work groups and leisure groups coincided. Thus girls who took their meals at the same table, walked round the dock sheds together in the dinner break, and perhaps went to the local dance hall in the evening, also contrived to work together.

The explanation for this difference appears to lie in the fact that in the bank wiring room, management was responsible for the allocation of jobs, and men who had social interests in common did not necessarily work in the same group. In the canteens, however, management was less interested in a particular allocation of jobs than in getting the work done and, with the exception of the 'kitchen women,' it was possible for the girls both to take on the jobs they personally preferred and to work side by side with their friends. In the same way that the bank wiring room men had differentiated between the status of one job and another the canteen girls felt that jobs bringing them into contact with the customers, such as serving at the counter or taking the money, had the highest status. These were therefore pre-empted by sub-group one who left the less desirable jobs for the younger girls.

Besides these inter-group status differences, intra-group status differences were also observed, each individual in the sub-groups having a particular rank in the status hierarchy. Although all sub-groups in canteens A and B ranked newcomers lowest, other positions varied according to the interests and objectives of the particular sub-group. Thus in canteen A status within sub-group one appeared to be influenced by factors affecting a married woman's standing in the outside community. The possession of a nice home, and prestige goods such as sewing machines and washers, for example. In sub-group two, however, status was more closely related to age, appearance and success with boy friends. In neither of these groups did status result from occupation, but it could affect occupation in the sense that girls with high rank were given first option of the most preferred jobs.

In canteen B, status was less clearly distinguishable than in canteen A and length of service appeared the predominant factor.

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This to some extent affected occupation for the girl with the longest service was given the highest status job, that of looking after the till.

In canteen C, unlike canteens A and B, informal status coincided with formal status with the result that occupational factors had a stronger influence. Thus the manageress and cook were the highest ranking members of the group and the kitchen woman had the lowest, although she was not necessarily the newest employee.

It seemed, therefore, that in the canteens occupation was far less important in determining rank within sub-groups than had been the case in the bank wiring room. This may have been partly due to the loose methods of work organisation, but it also resulted from the girls' feelings that factors such as age, length of service, social status and personality were more prestige giving than the performance of a particular task.

Behaviour within the sub-groups did not confirm the hypothesis put forward by Homans that status is a function of norm conformity and that the closer an individual's activities come to the norm, the higher his status will be. On the contrary it was found in all three canteens that the strictest norm conformity was required of newcomers, whose status was low but who had to be trained in the kind of behaviour the group expected, while high status was usually associated with popularity and acceptance and permitted a certain amount of deviation from group norms.

Protective Norms.

Group structure and status and the norms associated with these emerged through the desire of individuals to experience the satisfactions associated with prestige, popularity and the feelings of 'belonging' that are possible through participation in group life. To achieve these satisfactions, however, the group must continue to exist, and in order to do so, it may assume patterns of behaviour directed at protecting itself from outside interference.

Mayo in the Western Electric Company and Roy⁶ in a steel-processing plant both observed the existence of norms which operated to protect the work groups from outside interference. This protection took the form of restriction of output and other practices directed at preventing rate cutting or demands from management for a higher level of output. Mayo concluded that the workers' fears were irrational and due to lack of understanding of

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the economic logics of management as it was company policy never to cut a piece rate.⁷ Roy, however, suggested that his operators were entirely justified in their protective devices as there was evidence that the exceeding of quotas resulted in piece-work rate cuts and consequent reduced earnings.

In the three dock canteens protective norms had emerged but here the threat was not one of rate cutting but of censure or 'the sack' as a result of complaint or criticism from dockers or supervision. Restrictive practices, besides having little purpose, were difficult to implement in the canteen situation as production was a function of immediate customer demand. Protective norms, therefore, took other forms.

Usually, as has been said, the canteen staff split into clearly discernible groups, the chief division being between supervision and girls. All personnel were threatened by the customers, however, who were in a position to endanger the existence of the canteens by withdrawing their custom or bringing censure on the heads of supervisors and staff alike by complaining to the Port Authority or the Union. The formal policy of the Port Authority was that there must be no trouble in the canteens and it insisted that canteen staffs should accept complaints without argument. In canteens A and B this regulation was not complied with, but because unremedied complaints had resulted in visits from union officials and Port inspectors there was a very real sense of fear in the canteen staff's relations with the dockers as a group. Under no circumstances must a situation arise that might cause the men to come out on strike and, although individual dockers might be told off in no uncertain terms, if a group of dockers made a complaint this was listened to and rectified immediately. Because of the threat which the customer group represented, the staff regarded the dockers with hostility. Anti-docker myths and stories circulated and these were used as a justification for careless work and bad service. The girls said 'why should we clean the canteen floor properly? The men come in and spit on it and throw the dregs of their tea down anywhere they feel like.' Again, 'what's the use of our scrubbing the benches and tables? The men are so dirty, that they're filthy again five minutes after we've finished the work.' One myth, current in canteen A, concerned a splendid modern canteen built by a wealthy philanthropist who wished to improve conditions for the dockers. He provided chairs and tables in place

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of the usual wooden forms and had attractive pictures on the walls. The first time dockers used this canteen they threw puddings at the pictures and emptied tea over the new tables. In consequence the disheartened philanthropist shut the canteen. As well as increasing anti-docker feeling and adding to the cohesiveness of the group, this story helped the girls to accept the squalid surroundings in which they worked because 'dockers don't deserve anything better.'

The supervisors in canteens A and B showed their contempt of the customers by emphasising to them the hard work needed in the canteen compared with the easy life of dock workers. 'We have to work from 7 in the morning to 6 at night, but you dock workers can "welt" (i.e., work an hour and rest an hour) all day.' As the manageress of canteen A put it, 'such a state of affairs would never be allowed in a canteen—the men get away with murder because everyone is too terrified to cross them.'

In canteen A complaints from groups of dockers were unwillingly accepted because these were a threat to the existence of the canteen group as a whole, but an individual man could do little harm and both supervision and girls would get great satisfaction out of proving him wrong. If a man complained of dirty food he was told he was imagining it or it was his own fault. The girls said 'what right have they to complain when most of them are used to eating like pigs at home.' In canteen B similar behaviour was observed with the difference that brushes with dockers were left to the manageress who was in constant battle with her customers.

The staff in canteen C showed much less hostility towards the customers as a group than the staff in canteens A and B. This appeared to result from a number of factors. Firstly, this canteen was in a less strike prone area of the dock estate and little pressure was exerted by the authorities to ensure the avoidance of trouble. In consequence the girls were not aware of the customers as a potential threat, complaints were received without resentment and remedied cheerfully and relations between the two groups were amicable. Secondly, the canteen clientele was a mixture of dockers, builders and soldiers who were working on the docks, therefore community perceptions of dockers as a 'lazy, irresponsible lot' were not directed against the customer group, but kept for dockers who did not patronise the canteen. In fact, the staff had strong feelings of loyalty towards their customers, preferring the dockers

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and soldiers who were regular customers, to the builders who were not. Thirdly, because this canteen was small, the girls were not overworked and were thus not tempted to make comparisons between their lot and the easy life of the men.

Although in canteen A, criticism from customers made the supervision and girls unite as one group with a common set of norms which gave protection to all, as a rule the girls banded together against the supervision, and norms emerged to protect them from supervisory threat. These protective norms were common to all sub-groups, but only if supervisory censure was directed at all the girls did they react as one group. As a rule each sub-group looked after its own. For example, if a girl broke a cup or a plate the members of her sub-group would help her conceal it so that supervision should not become aware of the breakage and 'create.' Similarly, if a girl stole a cake from the canteen shelves it was the accepted rule that a member of her group kept watch while she ate it, although if she were caught she would have to accept complete responsibility and her friends would not give her any overt support. Supervisory censure, on most occasions, was directed at sloppy or slow work and the norm was that individuals should be protected by action taken by the sub-group to avoid this. If a girl was in difficulties because she was behind with her work, the members of her group would rally round and assist her until the situation had eased. A girl must not ask for assistance, however; her friends must be observant enough to appreciate she was in difficulties.

The gulf between girls and supervision was greatest in canteen A, for the supervisors reinforced the girls' hostility by continual emphasis on their superior occupational and social status. Whereas the girls came from poor working class homes the supervisors considered themselves to belong to the 'middle classes' and were often overheard referring to 'that type of girl.' In return the girls spoke of 'they' in the office as opposed to 'we' of the 'shop.' In canteen B, however, the manageress took on a maternal role in relation to her girls and in consequence was much closer to them. The canteen A girls avoided supervision whenever possible, but canteen B looked to their manageress for guidance when work or personal problems arose, and she was only too happy to provide this. Her violent temper and insistence on high standards made her feared and admired rather than liked, however, although the group were

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too inexperienced and too closely watched to have developed many protective norms.

Canteen C, where the manageress was integrated with the group, had protective norms similar to those observed in canteen A with the difference that these affected behaviour only in relation to the disliked visiting supervisor. Because the manageress had to bear the brunt of criticism the group rallied round to protect her by assuming an appearance of great activity and efficiency whenever visits were made.

In all three canteens then, norms of behaviour had emerged which protected the canteen hands from interference by other groups. These protective norms did not emerge because of the existence of customer-canteen hand or supervisor-subordinate relationships in themselves, but only when these relationships were of such a nature as to result in inter-group conflict culminating in a real threat to comfort or security. This data would appear to support Roy's hypothesis that many behaviour patterns which conflict with the interests of management are justifiable measures to protect the workers' own interests. It conflicts with Mayo's suggestion that protective devices are mostly irrational, based on vague and untested sentiments that 'something might happen,' and due to a lack of understanding of the logics of management.

Cohesive Norms.

Besides the protective norms already described, other behaviour patterns were observed which served to make the girls more conscious of their group membership. As the function of these behaviour patterns appeared solely to be to increase feelings of 'belonging' and 'groupness' they will be referred to as 'cohesive norms,' although the norms associated with 'status' and 'protection,' already described, almost certainly had a cohesive function too.

Feelings of 'belonging' were reinforced through norms of similarity which were most noticeable in canteen A and differed from one sub-group to another. Attitudes to clothes were examples of this. In canteen A, sub-group one required its members to come to work in smart outdoor clothes and prided itself on its dress sense, whereas sub-group two, whose members were younger and had less money, had lower standards although they tried to emulate sub-group one. Sub-group three, the 'kitchen women'

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had even lower standards and their clothes were always old and shabby. All three groups paid little attention to their working appearance, however, and the norm was to look dirty and untidy in a torn overall tied round the waist with string. This reflected their general 'don't care' attitude about work. Canteen B had low dress standards, both inside and outside the work situation, but here behaviour was influenced by the manageress, who considered pretty clothes a sign of 'flightyness.' Canteen C, on the other hand, were smart all the time, both out of a feeling of pride in the canteen and their desire to make the best of themselves as women.

In all three canteens the exchange of presents was a common behaviour pattern that appeared to enhance feelings of 'belonging.' Any illicitly acquired goods that were received from the dockers were always shared with members of the girls' own sub-group and there was a continual exchange of cigarettes, sweets and foodstuffs within the group. Seating habits at meal and break times were also a means of stressing sub-group membership. In canteen A the supervisory group situated itself in and around the office. Sub-group one, the older women, sat at a table near the top end of the 'shop'; sub-group two, the younger girls, sat behind them, and the two kitchen women ate alone by the kitchen table. After dinner sub-group one would stay at their table and gossip with the men, but sub-group two would either go into another corner of the 'shop' and sleep on the tables or knit around the stove in the kitchen. The kitchen women sat with them here but rarely joined in any of the conversation. In canteen B the canteen hands ate in the shop, the manageress and cook in the kitchen, and in canteen C everyone ate together in the kitchen.

This desire of the sub-groups to be together whenever possible was shown also in the organisation of work referred to earlier. In a canteen it is not essential to do a job in one particular place and girls in the same sub-groups would make every effort to work side by side.

Cohesiveness has been defined by Festinger as the total field of forces acting on group members to remain in the group or, alternatively, by Gross and Martin⁸ as the resistance of a group to disruptive forces. Festinger's definition places emphasis on the attraction a group has for an individual and suggests that it is this attraction that makes the group cohesive. Gross and Martin give cohesiveness a narrower meaning equating it with 'sticking

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'togetherness' and suggest that any consideration of cohesiveness should place its emphasis on the strength of the relational bonds between and among group members at times of crisis.

Neither of these definitions by itself seemed to fit the canteen situations. Certainly all the groups were highly attractive to their members. Because the work forces were so small, exclusion from a group meant virtual isolation as there were no groups of equal attractiveness for an individual to join. But, as Gross and Martin point out, a group can be highly attractive to its members and yet possess a low degree of 'sticking-togetherness.' This was true of the sub-group in canteen B where fear of the manageress made the group reluctant to 'stick-together' in opposition to her, and in this sense the group was not cohesive.

Gross and Martin's hypothesis that cohesiveness is measured by the resistance of a group to disruptive forces was equally doubtful in the canteen situation, however. For example, supervision and girls would form one highly resistant group when threatened by the customers, yet under normal circumstances there was not cohesion but only conflict in this group. Again, relational bonds between the girls did not appear to be stronger at times of crisis than at other times, although they might be expressed more openly as in the sympathy given to a girl who had been 'told off' by the supervisor.

If the sub-groups in canteens A and C are accepted as being more cohesive than those in canteen B—that is they were more conscious of themselves as groups and would take action as groups to protect themselves—it would seem that cohesiveness in the canteens was a result of the attractiveness of a group for its members, through the social satisfactions it could provide, plus the group's awareness of the need to stick together to resist forces which could disrupt it. A strong conflict situation such as in canteen A appeared to lead to greater cohesiveness and the development of more 'protective' norms to resist disruption and more 'cohesive' norms to increase the members' awareness of themselves as a group.

These conclusions seem to support Festinger's hypothesis that the more cohesive a group is, the stronger its norms will be, although it can be suggested that this is true chiefly of groups in conflict or crisis situations. Canteen A, where the sub-groups were most cohesive and there was much worker-management conflict, had its behaviour strictly regulated by both protective and cohesive

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norms; canteen C, also cohesive and engaged in conflict had some 'protective' and 'cohesive' norms, but canteen B, a less well integrated group had few of these norms.

Goal Achieving Norms.

All norms described so far appeared to emerge for the achievement of a particular goal, whether it be the attainment of individual prestige and security or the protection of the group, but these objectives were not perceived as goals and therefore not consciously sought after. Other things, however, were seen as goals by the group and norms were adopted which acted as devices for the achievement of these goals. In the canteen situation, unlike Mayo's Relay Test Room, the girls did not regard the completion of a task as a goal but merely as something that needed to be done with the minimum effort in order to avoid supervisory censure. For them the most important goal was getting a man. And, as this could be furthered in the work situation, a number of norms were centred around this end. It has been said that the attitude of the girls towards the dockers as a group was one of contempt not unmixed with envy at their reputed easy existence, and it can be suggested that this attitude was partly a reflection of the community's attitude towards the dockers generally. The attitude of the girls towards the dockers as individuals was quite different however. To the younger girls, they were possible future husbands and therefore had to be courted and made much of with considerable emphasis on sex. To the older women they were neighbours and sometimes relatives. Beside the need for getting a man of one's own, it was considered a sign of social success to be popular with men, and in canteens A and C the girls competed vigorously with each other to receive the dockers' favours. They were always hinting or even asking outright for presents, and it greatly enhanced a girl's personal prestige if a man gave her booty that he had removed from one of the ships. The girls serving on the counter kept up a continual cry of 'give us a fag, Harry, give us a fag, Jack.' These presents and cigarettes were not really wanted for themselves, but were valued as 'illustrations' that the girl who received them had sufficient charm and personality to be given something by a man.

The desire for social success with men was bound up with the development of the art of repartee. The dockers enjoyed verbal

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exchanges with the girls and admired a girl who could retaliate with a witty and crushing reply. The repartee norm had clearly defined boundaries, however, and these appeared to be influenced by the girls' attitudes to themselves as women. Obscene remarks were not permitted, and if one was made the entire canteen group, including supervision, would present a united front and refuse to serve the offender again. Similarly attempts to make dates with married women were received with every appearance of acceptance but never acted upon openly as this would have meant contravention of the community norms.

In canteen B, as in canteens A and C, success with men was a desirable quality, but the firm who owned the canteen threatened any girl caught in conversation with a docker with instant dismissal, and the manageress enforced this rule so that opportunities for social contact were limited. Because of this, girls sought their boy friends outside the canteen and the kinds of norms observed in canteens A and C were not in force. For their part the dockers showed little interest in the canteen B girls and frequently commented on their unattractiveness.

Behaviour patterns of the kind observed in canteens A and C do, however, demonstrate the fallacy of the Mayo approach, which looks at groups only in the context of their working environment. These girls were not only canteen hands, they were also 'women' and as such their behaviour at work was greatly influenced by social factors imported from outside such as their desire to have boy friends and to get married.

Norms imposed from outside the group.

It is clear that norms regulating the activities of a particular group do not all arise from the activities of that group. New members bring their norms to the group and, as stressed above, no work group can entirely escape environmental influences. Kingsley Davis⁹ suggests that norms have become such a part of human existence that many are internalised to a high degree. They may be expressed automatically in a person's behaviour and be bound up with emotions such as conscience and sense of duty. In this respect the canteen girls' attitudes and behaviour were strongly influenced by their community mores and Roman Catholic background.

Although getting a man and success with men was one of the

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major aims of all groups, this could not be pursued as the individual liked and here again the norms had well defined boundaries, regulated by attitudes from the community outside the canteen. There was considerable divergence in the girls' attitudes towards men from their own area of the docks and men who came from other areas. In canteen A men from the Sefton docks, who formed the major part of the canteen clientele, were regarded as 'our boys,' were 'good sorts' on the whole and could be accepted as boy friends. Men from the Pemberton docks, however, were unruly and boorish and must be avoided. If there were more complaints about the food than usual on any day this was attributed to the fact that several gangs of Pemberton docks men were in the canteen and 'of course they don't know how to behave any better.' When the research worker announced that she was transferring to a canteen in the Pemberton docks area the girls were full of pity. 'Oh, you won't like it down there, the men are terrible, just like animals, and the canteen assistants are worse, real street girls.' In canteen B, the Pemberton docks canteen, and in canteen C, situated across the harbour, the same parochial attitudes were to be found.

Associating with men from another area of the docks was regarded with strong disapproval, but associating with coloured men was taboo. This attitude did not seem to be due to any dislike of coloured men, but to the fact that the girls dared not run the risk of incurring the displeasure of the men with whom they normally associated. The girls said the dockers objected if they spoke to a coloured man in the canteen, and any girl who was seen out with one was classed as a 'nigger woman' and left severely alone by the men of her acquaintance. This was a problem of some importance to the canteen girls as they frequently came into contact with West Indians and Africans both in the canteen and at dances, and every street had one or two mixed marriages. On the whole, the girls were sympathetically inclined towards the 'black men' and thought they were badly done to, but it was a very brave girl who would face the disapproval of her family and friends by actually associating with a member of the coloured community.

Although flirting was approved from married and unmarried alike within the walls of canteens A and C, had a married woman openly carried matters further outside the canteen, she would have broken the accepted code of behaviour and received disapproval

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or censure from the group. When the research worker was out in the 'shop,' collecting plates with another girl, dockers who tried to make dates were told firmly, 'you've had it, she's a married woman.'

A girl had to show a certain amount of self-respect in her behaviour and she had to be treated as a lady by the people with whom she came into contact in the canteen and the community. The girls, whose language and conversation could be extremely crude amongst themselves, became highly indignant if any of the men swore in front of them or tried to get too 'fresh.' In canteen A, when the research worker went to collect plates in the canteen annexe the girl who accompanied her always knocked on the door first, explaining she had to let the men know there were 'ladies' about so that they would stop swearing and be on their best behaviour. Although the dockers frequently expressed derogatory opinions about the canteen girls among themselves, they too had definite ideas as to how they should behave before women and, on the whole, conformed without question.

The influence of outside community norms on behaviour observed in the three canteens re-emphasises the point made in the last section that the behaviour of individuals in a work situation cannot be assumed to be a direct result of their industrial environment and small groups must, therefore, be studied in the context of the various economic, social and moral forces that may affect them.

Informal leaders—the 'guardians' of the norm.

In the canteens the most respected people from the girls' point of view were the group leaders. As leaders they acted as 'guardians' of the group norms, imposing sanctions on deviants and indoctrinating newcomers in the ways of the group and the expected patterns of behaviour. In canteen A this entailed conformity with sub-group norms on standards of work and evasion of supervisory norms. When a newcomer first entered the group she was subjected to considerable pressure from the sub-group leader who criticised strongly any unwitting deviations from the group's normal working behaviour. As it became clear to the group that the newcomer was anxious to conform, this pressure lessened and indications of acceptance were substituted for criticism. Newcomers who were by nature conscientious workers had a conflict of norms here. Their previous training made them feel it was praiseworthy and

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satisfying to work hard. Their new group, however, insisted on fast and sloppy work and acceptance depended on conformity.

In canteen A, although each sub-group had its leader, the leader of sub-group one was accepted by all groups except supervision. She it was to whom all groups turned for guidance in coping with new situations or making decisions concerning courses of action, and her own sub-group took her as a behaviour model.

She was accepted as leader for a number of reasons. Older than the other girls, she was still attractive, looking ten years younger than her age of 53. Age gave her status and the girls admired her ability to retain her looks. She had social status through her husband's occupation of rent collector and the fact that she had a nice home. Yet this social status was not so great that it was beyond the aspirations of the other girls. Her temperament was placid and she exerted a stable influence on the rest of the group.

Canteen B, where behaviour was rigidly controlled by an intimidating manageress, had no girl with a personality fearless enough to stand in opposition to her, and in consequence no sub-group leader had emerged, all decisions and initiative being left to the supervisor. Although the group conformed to her norms and showed the required behaviour and attitudes, their conversation when alone seemed to indicate that they were unhappy in the authoritarian atmosphere, but not strong or united enough to set up any defences. It must be remembered that this group were all young and inexperienced in work, whereas canteen A had many mature and experienced women.

In canteen C girls and supervision were united through their conflict with higher authority, and this fact, combined with the attractive personality of the manageress, led to her acceptance as both formal and informal group leader. In consequence the aims of both workers and canteen management were the same, that of enjoying their work, ensuring the canteen's good reputation and resisting the unpleasantness of the visiting supervisor.

The behaviour of group leaders in the canteens did not seem to support the hypothesis of Homans that leadership will be vested in those group members who on the whole best live up to the standards that the group value, for although some appearance of conformity was expected of them, their leadership position appeared to depend more on their personal desire to lead and their ability

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and willingness to make decisions for the group. In the relatively stable canteen situation the leaders were rarely deposed, but it is interesting to note that unofficial strike leaders operating on the docks at that time emerged and were overthrown after brief periods of office as they failed to achieve the perceived goals of the dockers.

Sanctions.

Norms are flexible in that a group will regard many different kinds of behaviour as being within the norm. Usually, however, there is a point at which behaviour moves from the acceptable and sanctions start being applied. For example, it has been seen that married women were permitted to flirt within the canteen walls, but known liaisons outside the canteen were not accepted and the group would exert pressure on deviants. The point at which sanctions were exercised varied according to the kind of norm and the individual concerned. Perhaps because the existence of the group depended on them, protective norms such as measures for the concealment of bad work from supervision were narrow and rigidly applied. Cohesive norms such as group similarities of dress were wider.

The severity of sanctions varied according to the deviant's position in the group and her degree of acceptability. In the same way that group members with the highest social status were permitted the greatest amount of deviation from the norms, so were they less rigidly affected by sanctions. An act that would be bitterly criticised in a low status member would receive only joking reference if the deviant's status was high. The strictest sanctions were applied to the newest and youngest members who were being trained in norm conformity. Sanctions themselves were not always stable, but tended to change over time, an act that might provoke expulsion from the group at one period would only evoke ridicule at another.

Sanctions tended to increase in severity as the deviant's behaviour moved away from the boundary or as she repeatedly refused to conform. They varied from mild ridicule to complete exclusion from the group, depending on the strength of the norm concerned, the amount of deviation and the number of times there was non-conformity.

Quite severe sanctions could be and were applied in the canteen groups because the fear of isolation or the necessity for finding

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another job acted as a restraining force against departure from the group. In canteen A norms concerning relations with the supervision, personal cleanliness and behaviour outside the canteen were narrow and rigid and offenders were forced into semi-isolated positions on the fringes of the group. There were three girls thus treated; one was suspected of undue friendliness with the supervision; one had a rash and therefore was 'dirty'; and one broke the community moral code. The group leader was instrumental in securing the isolation of these girls by refusing to work or sit with them. The treatment of isolates did not support Homans' hypothesis that interaction between individuals will lead to mutual liking, providing this interaction does not include imposed authority. Isolates in this canteen were the centre of considerable interaction as the group tried to pressure them into conformity with its norms. Yet this did not lead to increased friendliness, but rather to increased hostility.

Norms concerning dress, work or relations with men inside the canteen were broader and sanctions were less severe. The wearing of too dirty or too expensive clothes and conformity with supervisory rather than group norms regarding work were greeted with ridicule rather than expulsion. Similarly, almost any behaviour with men within the canteen walls was acceptable and unsanctioned, although powerful sanctions, i.e., exclusion from the canteen, were evoked against any man who did not conform to the girls' perceptions of themselves as 'ladies.'

Conclusions.

In this paper behaviour in the three dock canteens has been described and analysed in terms of observed group objectives and related to hypotheses concerning the phenomena of group activity put forward in other studies of small industrial or community groups. The data collected suggests conclusions that in part confirm and in part contradict the findings of these other studies.

The Bank Wiring Room of the Western Electric Company was the most directly comparable situation, and it was found that behaviour in the canteens closely followed the pattern observed there. Like the Bank Wiring Room men, the canteen girls had their own rules and standards which more often than not were opposed to those imposed upon them by management. They too attached social significance to particular jobs, had a clearly defined intra- and inter-

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group status structure, and enforced their group norms by means of sanctions exercised for non-conformity with expected behaviour. The chief differences between the two studies lies not in the data itself but in the conclusions drawn from this data. Firstly, in the canteens status did not derive primarily from the job itself, as Mayo believed the case in the Bank Wiring Room; it derived from other social factors operating both within the canteen and in the community outside. Secondly, observation in the canteens did not support Mayo's conclusion that workers' fears are irrational and due to lack of understanding of the economic logics of management. Rather it supported the work of Roy whose experience in an American steel processing plant led him to the conclusion that protective devices were assumed by groups in order to ward off very real threats to group life and objectives. Thirdly, Mayo saw group structure and organisation in terms of workshop and plant influences only, whereas sub-groups in the canteens appeared to derive many of their behaviour patterns from community standards and influences.

Festinger's study of patterns of social relations among the residents of two campus housing projects provides a number of relevant hypotheses against which to examine the canteen data. Canteen behaviour confirmed his conclusion that individuals tend to join groups with norms similar to their own, and supported his belief that the more cohesive a group, the stronger its norms will be. The two canteen groups with strong norms were, however, both operating in conflict situations and it can be suggested that in the canteens it was conflict rather than the cohesiveness of the group alone that primarily influenced the strength of norms. Had there been no conflict in canteen C it is probable that this group would have been highly cohesive, yet permissive in its attitude to norm conformity.

Homans has co-ordinated the conclusions of Roethlisberger and Dickson in *Management and the Worker* and Whyte in *Street Corner Society*¹⁰ and produced a number of hypotheses based on these studies. He suggests that status in a group is a function of norm conformity and that the closer an individual's activities come to the norm, the higher his status will be. From this he concludes that leadership will be vested in those who on the whole best live up to the standards the group value. Norm conformity as the chief factor in leader selection could not be checked in the canteens as

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informal leaders in all three situations were already established in their roles. Norm conformity as a condition of status or leadership was not supported by observation, however. On the contrary the groups were relatively permissive with high status members and required the strictest norm conformity from newcomers.

Homans' principal hypothesis is that interaction between individuals will lead to mutual liking, providing that this interaction does not include imposed authority such as worker-supervisor relationship. Canteen behaviour suggested that it was common interest and mutual attraction rather than interaction in itself that led to liking. Girls who were semi-isolates were usually the centre of considerable interaction as the group tried to make them conform to its norms. This interaction did not lead to increased friendliness, however, but more often to increased hostility as the deviant refused to change her ways. Here the confined nature of the work situation was undoubtedly an important factor. In Festinger's housing projects and Whyte's gangs the fringe members could withdraw from many group activities and thus reduce interaction. In the canteens the only way to avoid group pressures was to quit the job, a step that was impractical for most of the girls.

This paper has concerned itself only with a description of existing norms observed over a comparatively short period of time. It has not been able to explain how these particular norms came into being, or to examine how they altered as changing circumstances in the canteens threw up new situations for the groups to meet. It is suggested that the formation of new norms and the modification of existing norms would prove fruitful areas for further research in the industrial field. The kinds of norms workers adopt and the means by which they acquire them are of great interest to the social scientist and also have many implications for management both from a training, production and human relations point of view.

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¹ University of Liverpool, Department of Social Science: *The Dock Worker*, University of Liverpool Press, 1954.

² Mumford, E. M.: 'Participant Observation in Industry: An Evaluation,' *Occupational Psychology*, 1958, pp. 153-161.

³ Homans, G.: *The Human Group*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1951.

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⁴ Festinger, L., Schacter, S., and Bach, K.: *Social Pressures in Informal Groups*, Harper, New York, 1950.

⁵ Roethlisberger, F. J., and Dickson, W.: *Management and the Worker*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1939.

⁶ Roy, D.: 'Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop,' *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1951-52, pp. 427-442.

⁷ More recent information on the Western Electric Company—See J. Mills: *The Engineer in Society*, D. van Nostrand, New York, 1946—suggests that these fears were not as irrational as Mayo thought for, although the company never cut a piece rate, jobs were frequently re-designed if they paid the operators more than management thought reasonable.

⁸ Gross, N., and Martin, W.: 'On Group Cohesiveness,' *The American Journal of Sociology*, 1951-52, pp. 546-554.

⁹ Davis, K.: *Human Society*, Macmillan, New York, 1948.

¹⁰ Whyte, W. F.: *Street Corner Society*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1943.



SOME POINTS OF REINTERPRETATION REGARDING SOCIAL CONFORMITY*

E. P. Hollander

Among those phenomena lying within the scope of social research, none occupies a more central place than conformity. Leaving aside the ugly connotations the term has garnered of late, a simple reality prevails: all individuals, in time, space, and degree, 'conform'—if we mean by this that they alter the course of their behaviour in keeping with social forces. This is plainly a basal requirement for social integration. A modifiability or plasticity of individual behaviour is essential if society, any society, is to function smoothly.

That conformity is therefore of singular import may be granted readily, though limiting it as to definition and interpretation is still another matter. It is after all neither a persisting attribute of the individual nor just an isolated state through which he passes. Rather it is best considered as a complexly-determined, episodic outcome of the ongoing social interaction between the individual and the 'other people' with whom he is in contact at a time. And this interaction itself must be understood to comprise more than the literalist's view of people behaving reciprocally in time, for individuals are the carriers of what has transpired before, thus insuring that present interactions are being governed in part by the impressions remaining from past interactions.

The interplay of social and psychological elements accordingly contained in conformity calls forth the distinctive approach characterized by social psychology. This concerns itself with those attributes

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of the individual which relate to certain general classes of environmental variables producing social behaviour. As illustrative points of departure, two problems especially demand attention regarding conformity: the individual psychological states which dispose toward manifest conformity; and, relatedly, the trustworthiness of manifest conformity as evidence of individual intent.

The last point serves as a particularly useful line to several central considerations here. For some time, conformity has been seen to depend upon some fixed norm to which all members of a group are expected to adhere; attractive and simple as it is, this notion misleads by deftly avoiding the verifiable truth that one man's act of 'conformity' may be another's 'non-conformity,' depending upon how the others in that situation feel about each. By neglecting the perceiver and his impressions from the past, this static orientation encourages a fruitless quest for stable attributes of either the individual or the situation in generating conformity, based in a single snapshot of behaviour at a set point in time.

Two Levels of Conformity Behaviour.

Clarity may be introduced here by an initial distinction between conformity as a problem of process and one of effect. At the level of *process*, conformity should be accountable with regard to some motive impelling action. To say that an individual conforms just because others evidence a given behaviour is to reach the *reductio ad absurdum* that he conforms because he conforms. Why must he care about the behaviour of others? In the case of the child *vis-à-vis* the parent, we may speak with some reason about identification or 'modelling behaviour.' But what of an adult placed among others in what we may call a group context? If we simply invoke imitation as a motive, then we are still obliged to explain a lack of generalized imitation.¹ Why the evident selectivity? People do not, in point of fact, conform to just any behaviour displayed by others. Which leads us necessarily to enquire about the person's individual psychological states, particularly how his motives and percepts may direct conformity.

To illustrate the level of *effect*, recall that we readily observe in everyday contact that behaviour accepted from one individual may not be nearly so acceptable from another. Or, turning it around, what we demand of one individual by way of conformity to some social standard we may not so strictly demand of another.² This is

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often explained away by alluding to the rather loose designation 'status.' We acknowledge that some people have a certain something which alters our expectations, and tolerance, regarding their behaviour. In what is to follow, more will be said about this operational aspect of status. For now, we may undertake a brief excursion into individual-to-group relationships, preparatory to a recasting of the problem.

Group Contexts and Interpersonal Expectancies.

As part of the movement away from the descriptive to a more analytic probing of group membership, there has emerged the concept of 'reference group.' This is a useful construct serving to account for the relevance of a group to an individual's behaviour; it has to do with the consideration that both behaviour and less apparent sorts of things, e.g., orientations in one's perception of the social environment, as in 'attitudes,' are tied to and elicited by the groups to which an individual refers himself; and that, most importantly, this even includes groups to which he does not belong, but to which he may aspire. Thus, noting membership is never sufficient in itself; we must know whether the individual actually 'refers' himself to a group; this raises the question of whether he cares, or is motivated, to retain identification with the group at hand.

When we ask then why it is that one group guides an individual's behaviour while another, to which he belongs, does not, or does less, we ultimately must seek an answer in rewards he finds from actual or implied interaction with them, disallowing, of course, cases of sheer physical coercion. Typically, the face-to-face group, affording interactions with concomitant communications, has particular importance as a source for the determination of group identifications. But, other communication sources, of a secondary nature, could fulfil this function.

In either event, by some direct or indirect mode of interaction, expectancies develop regarding behaviour which are appropriate for the individual. Accordingly, as a neophyte in a group he would most probably take as a first approximation of these expectancies what others appear to be doing, and he might receive formal directives as well. Whether communicated explicitly or implicitly to him, however, these expectancies reside in perceptions of him held by others: thus, 'we expect newcomers to know their place and hold their tongues.'

When expectancies have normative character in the modal sense,

i.e., where individual A is expected to behave in fashion X in situation Q by other individuals B, C, D, and so on, we may speak of 'group expectancies.' Behaviour itself is not the normative element so much as the underlying expectancies of the group; further, we may consider that expectancies have reference to rôles, highly specific behaviour, as well as to norms, more general behaviour.³

An individual behaves appropriately within a given group framework by perceiving these expectancies. In the simplest case, he comes to find them ready guides to comfortable interaction, so much so that they become implicit to his behaviour. One need not see this as a matter of deliberation; quite conceivably, a person may eventually incorporate a ready sense of the appropriate without conscious thought, if by this last term we mean verbal manipulation directed at problem solving.⁴

More to the point, an individual may strive very hard indeed—as in the classic case of the social-climber—to identify expectancies, those of the higher class, and fulfil these insofar as possible. The motivation of the individual to belong to the group therefore bears critically upon this process: it is not simple-minded at all to suppose that the matter of coming-to-know expectancies rests in great measure upon his motivation in this line.

Two Contributors to Motivation to Belong.

The genesis of this inclusive 'motive to belong' raises still other questions, not the least of which is the issue of its frequent conception as a unitary attribute of the individual. It would seem that, contrary arguments notwithstanding, much the sounder view is that a discrimination is properly demanded between attraction to a group (an adherence born of group function), and some individually-based motive for achieving social approval from the group members as a set of 'relevant others.'

These two distinctive motivational components may be subsumed within the general term; operating separately or interdependently they serve to yield an apparent motivation to belong.⁵ Though its manifestation is amenable to shaping by the immediate social environment, the component for social approval is doubtless a more stable personal attribute than the motive for a use of the group as a functional instrument, and therefore has features closely akin to what we usually think of as a dimension of personality. With due caution, one could then contend that certain individuals—because of their

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heightened requirement for social approval as compared with others—*are more likely to 'conform' than will these others.* But this is by no means a one-to-one proposition, and it assuredly does not operate in reverse. By now I would hope we are agreed that simply identifying evident conformity behaviour, by whatever definition, and then inferring from this an individually-centred propensity to conform is a mistake. Other factors come into play, a few of which I have suggested, and some of which are yet to be treated.

The Perceptual Element in Conformity.

Conceptions of conformity invariably involve a double assumption: that the individual is aware of some norm (or expectancy), and that his manifest behaviour in accord with this standard is indicative of conformity. The prospect of random behaviour is usually excluded from concern, and for our purposes, we may simply note this and move to the more substantial issue of perceptual accuracy and inaccuracy in conformity.

Clearly, it is not necessarily true that an individual in any sense 'knows' what is expected of him within a given social milieu. In the universe of experience, many cases very likely could be identified where this basal condition is in fact absent. What may then happen depends in some measure upon the motivation of the individual, whatever its source. Should he desire to make a go of it—"play the game," so to speak—he will effectively try hard to find out what is expected; if not motivated, he may not achieve awareness and may be thought to be a boor, or some such, by the relevant others. Still another element may be postulated though, i.e., a factor of general alertness to persons and events in the social realm. Given someone low in this characteristic, it follows that even if highly motivated to do the 'right thing,' he might fail and thus give evidence of non-conformity. Hence, a person could wish to conform to what others actually expect of him, fall short because of this basic perceptual inadequacy, and so 'conform' to an incorrectly perceived standard; he would consequently appear to be non-conforming when, in fact, his motivation, or intent, lay elsewhere.

Status and Conformity.

In the matter of status, mentioned in an earlier context, we have still another outcome of interaction. People do not, after all, possess status as an immutable personal attribute. It rests foremost in the

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eyes of one or more perceivers; and, whether directly or indirectly, it is these others who in some sense accord status.⁶ To comprehend status, we must therefore look to the differentiated view of one individual held by others, especially since these have certain operational results in their interaction.

Briefly, then, a differentiated perception, with effects upon interpersonal expectancies, conditions a particular behavioural approach to the object person. Since the expectancies applicable to the behaviour of this person are in some way special, he is perceived, reacted to, and expected to behave uniquely. Status may thus be considered as some accumulation of positively-disposed impressions, residing in the perceptions of relevant others, and having operational significance. This may be conceived to extend along an implicit continuum of esteem.

The genesis of this perceptual differentiation comes about from social interaction, though this does not discount the prospect of a symbolic communication of status. From the past interactions that occur, one individual makes an impression on another. An ongoing record of this interaction thus develops, with consequent expectations regarding this other. Within a group framework, two main dimensions appear to be central to this process: the behaviour of the object person in accordance with interpersonal expectancies, and his contribution to group goals. The former aspect represents a recasting of conformity, the latter a recognition of task competence as a distinguishable though commonly related determiner of status.

This scheme amounts very simply to this: as the individual is perceived to behave in accordance with commonly applied expectancies, and makes contributions toward the group's activities, his status moves upward. For convenience, this may be thought of as an accumulation of 'credits,' and, for reasons yet to be set out, I have specifically affixed to this the term, 'idiosyncrasy credit.'⁷

Where an individual fails to live up to expectancies, i.e., non-conforms, he loses credits. But, he may maintain some appropriate level of credits by continuing to be perceived as a contributor to the fulfilment of the goals of the group. When an individual's credit balance reaches zero, he may be thought of as having been excluded from the group, so far as the group's perception of him is concerned. On the other hand, credits may accumulate to such a level that the expectancies applicable to the individual are directed toward innovation. The critical feature here is that status will allow greater latitude

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in the manifestation of behaviour which would be seen to be non-conformist for the other members of the group.

For the person who is upwardly mobile, group expectancies will be altered in the fashion indicated. Because of this shift, it becomes increasingly less appropriate for him to continue to manifest behaviour which was set to the group's earlier expectancies. To the extent that the 'incipient status person' is attuned to these alterations, and is capable of reacting appropriately to them, his status should at least remain fixed, or move upward. Demands for perceptual accuracy and flexibility of behaviour are thus continually made upon him—features of informal leadership borne out incidentally by a good deal of research.⁸

Since the high status person has latitude for the manifestation of behaviour which for others would be seen as non-conformist, he is in a position to alter the common expectancies of the group. It is in this realm that status may be exercised in an influence sense. Still another condition may hold though for expectancies centred in the status itself; the leader could readily lose credits, and find his latitude diminished, if he should violate these. Regarding such deviation, one dimension that is quite probably significant would be the leader's motivation to belong as it is perceived by the members of the group to be both high and sincere. In the absence of these conditions, his status would be threatened.

In sum, conformity serves to maintain or increase status early in interaction, while later, status allows a greater degree of latitude for non-conformity. Though something of an oversimplification, this formulation serves to explain the seeming paradox that the leader both conforms to group norms and yet operates to alter group norms. This, of course, is no paradox at all. In the model of emergent leadership offered here, an individual achieves status by fulfilling common expectancies and demonstrating task competence during his early exposure to a group. As he continues to amass credits he may eventually reach a threshold which permits deviation and innovation, insofar as this is perceived by the others to be in the group's interests. He can then use credits to deviate in certain realms with relative impunity.

Conclusions.

In the foregoing, I have sought to argue against the view that conformity is a persisting personal attribute, as in being lame, or

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even a passing state, as in having a rash. Rather, I have urged a view of conformity as a *process* leading somewhere. Moreover, to my view this is both a universal process and one with a significant *raison d'être* in the scheme of human affairs. Without invoking the metaphysical, or trading in the paradoxical, I should like to suggest the prospect that individuals find conformity a device for gaining individuality. In interactions with groups, they are continually bartering one thing for another, even if inadequately and sometimes to their detriment. Putting value judgments aside then, conformity to a socially prescribed pattern, even to a slavish extent, should not lead us to conclude a profound surrender of individuality: we may be too hasty in branding this an overdesire for social approval when it might well be indicative of a form of pretence used to gain acceptance for other, more important, individually-based behaviour. These purposive features of manifest behaviour require additional elucidation and study.

Summary.

Social conformity, in the sense of behaviour seen to accord with a social norm, has been variously attributed to relatively stable motive patterns of the individual, to a dimension of personality, or to group characteristics.

In this paper these conceptions have been examined taking account of the fundamental problem posed by the very definition of conformity behaviour. Thus it was noted that conformity and non-conformity, as regards process, are not necessarily established by the simple criterion of manifest behaviour; that conformity must have, at bottom, a basis in a realistic awareness of the norm by the individual actor; and that the notion of a fixed norm is very likely misleading insofar as it may not apply to all individuals comprising the group of reference.

The central thesis developed upon this base is essentially as follows: an individual functions within a social field largely in terms of his perception of the 'group expectancies' regarding his behaviour. Depending upon motivational and perceptual states, as they relate to certain features of the social field, he will be more or less given to behaviour in keeping with these expectancies. Expectancies are not static but rather depend upon the outcome of past interaction between the individual and relevant others. A core element then is the historical or time-linked effects of interaction in

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determining the counter-vailing perceptions of the individual and these others. The effects of this stochastic process, especially upon leadership emergence, have been explored.

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¹ For another viewpoint, see Miller, N. A. and Dollard, J.: *Social Learning and Imitation*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, and also the report of research by Schein, E. H.: 'The Effect of Reward on Adult Imitative Behaviour,' *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1954, 49, pp. 389-395.

² This phenomenon has long-since been noted. Homans, as a recent example, devotes considerable attention to it. Homans, G. C.: *The Human Group*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950, Ch. 16.

³ A comparable treatment of norms and rôles is to be found in Bates, F. L.: 'Position, Rôle, and Status: A Reformulation of Concepts,' *Social Forces*, 1956, 34, pp. 313-321, and even earlier as an implicit feature of Newcomb, T. M.: *Social Psychology*. New York: Dryden, 1950.

⁴ This conception is not intended to touch even incidentally upon the issue in psychology of 'latent learning.' That there are motives underlying the learning of expectancies may be conceded. Moreover, the way in which expectancies fashion behaviour is variously documented, as in the experiment on perceived 'acceptance' by Dittes, J. E. and Kelley, H. H.: 'Effects of Different Conditions of Acceptance Upon Conformity to Group Norms,' *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1956, 53, pp. 100-107.

⁵ Other distinctions have been made in this vein, e.g., Festinger, L.: 'Informal Social Communication,' *Psychological Review*, 1950, 57, pp. 271-282; Deutsch, M. and Gerard, H. B.: 'A Study of Normative and Informational Social Influences Upon Individual Judgment,' *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1955, 51, pp. 629-636; Thibaut, J. W. and Strickland, L. H.: 'Psychological Set and Social Conformity,' *Journal of Personality*, 1956, 25, pp. 115-129; Jackson, J. M. and Saltzstein, H. D.: 'The Effect of Person-Group Relationships on Conformity Processes,' *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1958, 57, pp. 17-24.

⁶ Hyman, H. H.: 'The Psychology of Status,' *Archives of Psychology*, 1942, No. 269. Hyman's monograph still remains a useful introduction to various points of reference in viewing status psychologically.

⁷ A full exposition of this construct is to be seen in Hollander, E. P.: 'Conformity, Status, and Idiosyncrasy Credit,' *Psychological Review*, 1958, 65, pp. 117-127. Laboratory research testing its features will be reported shortly under the title 'A study of task competence and conformity in achieving influence acceptance,' and is summarized in Hollander, E. P.: 'On the Issue of Conformity in Personality,' in H. P. David (Ed.) *Perspectives in Personality Research*. In press.

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⁸ See, for example, Gouldner, A. (Ed.): *Studies in Leadership*. New York: Harper, 1950, Ch. 1; Hemphill, J. K.: *Situational Factors in Leadership*. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State Research Monograph Number 32, 1949; and the recent volume of papers edited by Tagiuri, R. and Petrullo, L. (Eds.): *Person Perception and Interpersonal Behaviour*. Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 1958.

MIDDLE CLASS FAMILIES AND SCHOOLS
1780-1880:
INTERACTION AND EXCHANGE OF FUNCTION
BETWEEN INSTITUTIONS

F. Musgrave

Many middle class families of the later eighteenth century undertook instruction of their children and adolescents which a century later was regarded as the proper concern of schools. Domestic education was by no means new: among the aristocracy and gentry it had a long Renaissance and even medieval background. What was new from the 1770s and '80s was the vigour with which domestic education was advocated, and the extent to which it spread among the professional middle classes. This type of education, conducted either by parents or by a resident tutor, served middle class society well for half a century. But by the 1830s new middle class needs were felt, products of a rapidly changing economy and society, which the family alone could not meet. The needs of an increasingly mobile society, of individuals who were moving into occupations and social positions for which their family traditions and experience provided little appropriate training, were met by middle class proprietary schools.

The late eighteenth-century expansion of domestic education was a self-conscious attempt to revive the ideal of domestic education and to integrate the child more closely in the adult world. The consequences were intellectual, religious and social precocity, an early maturity and adult standing which those who remembered an earlier tradition of parental aloofness lamented,¹ and which prolonged schooling and training for the professions in the mid-nineteenth century effectively undermined. Locke had reproved the gentry and middle class families of the late seventeenth century for the rigid segregation of children, for 'a constant stiffness, and a mien of authority to them all their lives.'² These child-parent relationships did not change quickly in response to Locke's exhortations. A century

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later David Williams was making similar complaints in his *Lectures on Education* (1789).³ Susan Sibbald and Mary Butt (later Mrs. Sherwood) have left vivid accounts of the separation of child and adult spheres in middle class eighteenth century households.⁴ But Locke gathered an influential following. James Whitchurch championed Locke's views in his *Essay upon Education* (1772),⁵ and R. L. Edgeworth put him to the test. Paradoxically the unsociable Rousseau, who would have Emile not only isolated but with a tutor as nearly his coeval as possible, and who inveighed against premature attainments, did more than our own indigenous authors to encourage the short-lived domestic experiment with its inevitable consequence of precocious intellectual development—well-known in the case of John Stuart Mill, but amply documented in innumerable other cases.⁶

The domestic experiment lasted in full vigour and with considerable success for half a century, from the 1770s to the 1830s. Its main advocates were Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), Rousseau, *Emile* (1762), Lord Kames,⁷ *Loose Hints on Education* (1781), R. Shepherd,⁸ *Essay on Education* (1782), David Williams,⁹ *Treatise on Education* (1774), William Cobbett, *Advice to Young Men*, and M. and R. L. Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, (1789). Domestic education had its critics and the severest were: Father Gerdil,¹⁰ *Reflections on Education* (1765), Helvétius, *Treatise on Man* (1772), Vicesimus Knox, *Liberal Education* (1781), George Chapman,¹¹ *Treatise on Education* (1790), Mary Wollstonecraft, *Vindications of the Rights of Women* (1796), and M. D. Hill, *Public Education* (1822). Others sought a compromise between public and private education—typically an association of friendly families sharing tutors: James Barclay,¹² *Treatise on Education* (1743), Thomas Sheridan,¹³ *Plan of Education for the Young Nobility and Gentry* (1769), Joseph Priestley, *Observations on Education* (1788), David Williams after further reflection in *Lectures on Education* (1789), and William Barrow,¹⁴ *Essay on Education* (1802). Numerous handbooks and manuals on domestic education, in addition to these more theoretical and polemical treatises, were produced. Of these may be mentioned Mrs. Chapone, *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1773), Thomas Day, *Sandford and Merton* (1783), Mrs. Sherwood, *The Fairchild Family* (1818), E. W. Benson, *Education at Home* (1824), and Isaac Taylor, *Home Education* (1838). These books gave guidance to the parent-teacher through imaginary dialogue between

parents and children, and described in story form the routine of the ideal educative family.

Tuition in the home was by no means new in the late eighteenth century: what was novel was its increasing extent and, in many instances, its greater effectiveness. Locke's unflattering views on the Public Schools were widely shared by his contemporaries among the gentry, but tutors of his day, and later, in general fell short of the high standards he prescribed and were hampered in their work by undue parental interference. Defoe regarded private tutors as 'murderers of a child's morals,'¹⁵ and Fielding's portraits of domestic tutors in *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and *Tom Jones* (1749) are probably representative of their kind. Their type certainly survived into the late eighteenth century and Maria Edgeworth, in her novel *Ennui*, provided her noble hero with a tutor who was of the opinion that 'everything which the young Earl of Glenthorn did not know by instinct of genius, was not worth learning.'¹⁶

The declining eighteenth century reputation of the Public and grammar schools, occasioned by their inadequate supervision of their charges, their inflexible curriculum and methods, and, in the case of the latter, by their social promiscuity¹⁷ gave rise to the extension of the domestic alternative. Defoe complained in the early eighteenth century that it was mainly eldest sons who were kept at home and given (inadequate) domestic tuition: 'Of thirty thousand families of noblemen and gentlemen of estate which may be reckoned up in the kingdom, I venture to say that there is not two hundred of their eldest sons at a time to be found in both our universities. At the same time you will find ten times that number of their younger sons.'¹⁸

Although the growing commercial class of the late eighteenth century enabled the Public Schools to maintain their numbers and even in some cases to increase them,¹⁹ domestic education certainly gained in both quantity and quality in the closing decades of the century. Dilatory and episodic home teaching was still common enough,²⁰ but so was pre-Public School education in formal schools²¹ until Prep Schools were widely established in the second half of the nineteenth century. Even the Public School Head Master and author of Public School stories, F. W. Farrar, held high the ideal of domestic education for children under Public School age.²²

Although the inadequate and harassed governess²³ was often the main instrument of domestic education, particularly for younger

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children and girls, until the middle decades of the nineteenth century, men of high ability were turning to private tutoring in the late eighteenth century. Frequently they were men of high scientific attainment—Joseph Priestley, Colin Milne, the botanist, Charles Hutton and John Bonnycastle, mathematicians whose talents had as yet but little scope in industry or public institutions. But leisured middle class parents took increasingly to the task of educating their own children. Rousseau's advice ('Poverty, pressure of business, mistaken social prejudice, none of them can excuse a man from his duty, which is to support and educate his own children') was widely heeded. Charlotte Mason has gone so far as to make the following claim:

'No other educationalist has had a tithe of the influence exercised by Rousseau. Under the spell of his teaching, people in the fashionable world, like that Russian Princess Galtzin, forsook society, and went off with their children to some quiet corner where they could devote every hour of the day, and every power they had, to the fulfilment of the duties which devolve upon parents. Courly mothers retired from the world, sometimes even left their husbands, to work hard at the classics, mathematics, sciences, that they might with their own lips instruct their children . . . (Rousseau) had chanced to touch a spring that opened many hearts. He was one of the few educationalists who made his appeal to the parental instincts.'²⁴

It was for such devoted—but often bewildered—parents that Edge-worth wrote *Practical Education*. He was familiar with the parent who asked: 'What is to be done? How do we begin? What experiments are suited to children? If we knew our children could try them.' It was to meet this demand that parents' manuals multiplied, but even these were not always sufficient for the extensive requirements of the day,²⁵ and more fathers than William Cobbett were driven to writing their own text-books.

Vicesimus Knox, Head Master of Tonbridge School, opposed as he was to domestic tuition, was driven to recognise its increasing popularity in the late eighteenth century, and also its boldly experimental nature.²⁶ When he republished his *Liberal Education* (first published in 1781) in 1795, he included a chapter 'On Private Tuition' to cater for this growing practice and interest. 'I have observed that private tuition seems lately to have prevailed in this country more than ever.' He decided to come to terms with it.

Dr. Nicholas Hans examined a sample of 3,500 eighteenth century men (1685-1785) in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and found that 28.5 per cent were domestically educated. A quarter of the peers' sons and a third of the gentry's were educated at home.²⁷ These proportions almost certainly increased around the turn of the

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century. When M. D. Hill wrote his *Public Education* in 1822 to champion the school against the home, he was fighting an apparently failing cause and realised that desperate remedies were necessary in public education. The strictures on Public School education in the *Edinburgh Review* were a symptom of a massive decline in public confidence. 'By 1835 it had become clear that if no reforms were to occur the middle classes would desert the schools entirely.'²⁸ The family was still, as fifty years before, the key educational institution.

The Defeat of the Domestic Ideal.

The domestic experiment perished in the fifty years 1830-80. It had previously flourished because public education was in low repute, because society was as yet changing but slowly and the traditional outlook and knowledge of the family were still relevant to the uprising generation, because the structure and circumstances of the leisured, extended middle class family, which could usually draw for aid upon a wide range of uncles and aunts as tutors, made it practicable, and because the family was becoming increasingly child-centred: the children of the late eighteenth century household were displacing the male seniors of the household as the focus of attention.

The child-centred middle class family of the late eighteenth century jealously guarded and enfolded the child, insulating him from undesirable contacts and often altogether from his age-peers.²⁹ Contemporaries often attributed the rise of the filiocentric family to the ideas of freedom and equality which were abroad at the time of the French Revolution.³⁰ William Barrow asserted that 'The wishes of the child are always consulted, and generally adopted. Parental authority is universally relaxed and in many instances nearly relinquished . . . Thus is too often begun and completed the character known amongst us by the appellation of a Jacobin or a Democrat.'³¹

But the change in family attitudes can be traced in innumerable family chronicles before the writings associated with the French Revolution appeared.³² It coincided with growing family size, as infant mortality rates declined, but escapes any easy demographic explanation. It cannot be accounted for in terms of the balance of age-groups in the population. It did not arise—as similar twentieth-century attitudes are sometimes held to have done—from the growing scarcity-value of children, for child-centred attitudes went along with the increasing number of children in proportion to total population, their ever greater expense both for middle class parents

concerned to educate and display them according to their rank (or the rank above them), and for working class parents who were progressively prevented by benevolent legislation from putting them to industrial employment.³³ The heightened evaluation of children is probably most satisfactorily related to the economic potential and consequent social power of the young in an industrial system which was increasingly automatic and depended ever less on training and experience. Prolonged tutelage was less and less necessary for the maintenance of the economic system, as the Taunton Commission concluded from its inquiries in Yorkshire in the 1860s.³⁴ (Even the date at which prolonged training for middle class professions became general can be considerably antedated.³⁵ But the attitude of adults was ambivalent. Precocity was a threat which extended education and unpaid training effectively met in all classes of society as the nineteenth century progressed. An elaborate system of schools prolonged the dependence of the young and redressed the balance of power between the age-groups.³⁶)

Parents collaborated after the thirties in their own usurpation by age-peers who, relegated to schools, formed themselves in defensive solidarity against their seniors and elaborated their own juvenile sub-culture.³⁷ The changing organization of the family itself, the increased tempo of social change, and the social relevance of re-fashioned middle class schools, made obsolete the family as a comprehensive educational institution.

The revival of confidence in public education can be explained only in terms of the interaction between family and school. Mack's attempt to explain it in terms of the influence of great headmasters and abstract social 'forces,' 'liberalism,' 'conservatism,' 'reaction' and 'liberal conservatism'³⁸ lacks reality: only an analysis in concrete terms of interacting social institutions and exchange of function can transform description into explanation.

Domestic education was the *technique par excellence* of a relatively static society: it ensured the maximum transmission of parental *mores* and occupations. The squires who speak in Defoe's *Compleat English Gentleman* are staunch for home education for this reason; the late eighteenth-century theorists who defended domestic education frequently did so on these grounds.³⁹

The needs of socially mobile groups which were produced by the Agrarian Revolution, the French Wars, and the Industrial Revolution, could not be met by domestic tuition. A newly enriched family

could not easily enter the superior class culture on wealth alone: the children needed an educational institution which would conceal rather than reinforce the family's traditions.⁴⁰ Wealthy eighteenth century farmers, concerned for unbroken succession in farm-ownership and management tended to express their social aspirations through their daughters rather than their sons: the former were sent away to boarding schools.⁴¹ The nineteenth century proprietary schools arose on urban industrial wealth, they did not arise because there were more opportunities for lucrative professional employment to which they provided an entrée:⁴² such opportunities lagged far behind educational expansion. Boys in mid-nineteenth century Public Schools were not, for the most part, groomed for well-paid employment but handicapped in their search for it by an irrelevant education and the outward signs of genteel status. (Few could be expected to face their predicament with the ultimate realism of Ernest Pontifex.) The great expansion in well-paid employment was in 'industrial management'⁴³ for which the Public Schools were no preparation. The Empire was necessary as a form of out-relief. The new Public Schools make sense only because a family was already wealthy and because unpaid or ill-paid careers in Parliament, the Army, Church, or at the Bar, brought not a livelihood but a valued status.⁴⁴

The schools offered to meet these new social needs more effectively than the family. They developed a new exclusiveness that guarded the child from social promiscuity and contamination as effectively as the most jealous parental surveillance, and more effectively than the *nouveau riche* parent could manage. Those proprietary schools flourished which reinforced the solidarity of social and socio-religious groups.⁴⁵ Grammar and Public Schools regained a lost vitality when they evaded their founders' democratic intentions and catered for discrete social grades. Those which failed to do so declined into elementary schools.⁴⁶

The middle class family was turning outwards to satisfy many of its basic needs: it had lost its former measure of self-sufficiency. The strains of social mobility and the atrophy of the wider functions of the extended family caused it to eject its young into the care of auxiliary educational agencies. Le Play commented in the early nineteenth century on this outward turning of English sons, compared with French sons of similar social level, their retreat from the parental roof until the death of the father or the departure of the widow.⁴⁷ But what was more significant in the evolving nuclear family

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of the nineteenth century was the outward turning of daughters: the burden of unmarried daughters was probably the severest strain on the Victorian family and did most to make it widen its horizons. The decreasingly domestic Victorian age⁴⁷ could not absorb its middle class women in marriage; it was ever less willing to support them in idleness. The extreme solutions of female emigration and even Protestant Convents for surplus spinsters⁴⁸ were canvassed. The feminist movement of the nineteenth century was born not of increased opportunities for employment and independence for women, but of frustrations within the home, not least the custom, in a household of daughters, of marriage by seniority. The women created their own opportunities: they forced themselves into a reluctant economic system.⁴⁹ The all-embracing family was burst asunder by the intolerable burden of unmarried daughters.

By the 1870s and '80s the family had abdicated from its front-line position in education. Its auxiliaries had taken over. Dr. Arnold supported the domestic ideal at Laleham but defeated it at Rugby. The 'thirties were the watershed. When Isaac Taylor wrote his *Home Education* in 1838, on the eve of the founding of Marlborough, Cheltenham and Wellington, he realised that he was advocating a type of education which could be enjoyed by a dwindling and even esoteric minority. He could only fight a rearguard action, hoping to keep the practice alive in devoted circles. Between the publication of his book and the writings and activities of Charlotte Mason forty years later, there occurred the renaissance of the English Public School. Charlotte Mason still hankered after the domestic ideal,⁵⁰ but when she founded the Parents' National Educational Union at Ambleside in 1877 she realised that she had to come to terms with the now self-confident school. Hers was an anachronistic experiment in restoring the authority of the dethroned parent.⁵¹

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¹ See V. Knox: *Liberal Education*, 1795, vol. 2, 'On Knowing the World at an Early Age.' Cf. J. Priestley: *Observations on Education*, 1788, p. 57.

² *Thoughts Concerning Education*, 1693, sec. 96.

³ See vol. 2, p. 291.

⁴ F. P. Hett: *Memoirs of Susan Sibbald* (1783-1812), p. 6, and S. Kelly (ed.): *The Life of Mrs. Sherwood*, 1854, p. 38.

⁵ See pp. 70-1.

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⁶ See for example: R. Southey: *The Life of Wesley*, 1820, pp. 429-30; J. Bonar: *Malthus and his Works*, 1885; F. E. Kingsley: *Charles Kingsley*, 1891; *A Memoir of John Keble*, 1808; S. P. Thompson: *The Life of William Thomson*, 1910; J. Ruskin: *Praeterita*.

⁷ Henry Home, 1696-1782, Scottish judge.

⁸ 1732-1809; son of a Lincolnshire clergyman; educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

⁹ 1738-1816; Dissenting minister and private tutor.

¹⁰ 1718-1802; Savoyard; Cardinal 1777.

¹¹ 1723-1806; educated Banff and Aberdeen; schoolmaster and private tutor.

¹² fl. 1743-74; curate and schoolmaster.

¹³ 1719-88; actor and manager.

¹⁴ 1754-1836; headmaster of the Academy, Soho Square, London.

For earlier doubts on domestic education and advocacy of the school, see Comenius: *The Great Didactic*.

¹⁵ See *The Compleat English Gentleman*, p. 71.

¹⁶ See *Tales of Fashionable Life*, vol. 1, p. 2.

¹⁷ See Defoe: *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ Eton, Harrow, Charterhouse, Rugby and Shrewsbury increased in numbers 1780-1830; only Westminster suffered a decline. See E. C. Mack: *Public Schools and British Opinion*, 1938, p. 73.

²⁰ See Jane Austen: *Emma*, 1816, ch. v., *Life of Geo. Crabbe*, 1834, pp. 135-6.

²¹ See for example the variety of educational experience of Gibbon and Southey before going on to a Public School: E. Gibbon: *Autobiography*, and *Life and Correspondence of R. Southey*, 1849.

²² See *St. Winifred's or The World of School*, 1862, pp. 10-12.

²³ See Anne Bronte: *Agnes Grey*, 1847, ch. 7.

²⁴ See *Parents and Children*, 1907 edition, p. 2.

²⁵ Isaac Taylor complained of the lack of such manuals in the 1830s: see *Home Education*, 1838.

²⁶ V. Knox: *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 260 n: 'Almost every private tutor . . . pretends to some nostrum, or new and expeditious method of teaching; which proves infallibly, that all the masters that have presided at Eton, Westminster, Winchester, the Chater-House, Merchant Taylors and St. Paul's were fools and blockheads, in comparison with the redoubtable and self-important innovator or empiric.'

²⁷ N. Hans: *New Trends in Eighteenth Century Education*, 1951.

²⁸ Mack: *op. cit.*, p. 192.

²⁹ For ideal pictures of withdrawn domesticity see Benson: *Home Education*, pp. v.-vi, and Mrs. Sherwood: *The Fairchild Family*. The rise of the doctrine and practice of 'hardening,' based on the recommendations of Locke and Rousseau, championed by Thomas Day, George Chapman and Whitchurch is no refutation but a further expression of increased concern for child welfare. With its basis in medicine as well as morals, it appealed to the age which discovered vaccination as the most effective means of ensuring children's health at a time of ravaging child diseases and high infant mortality.

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³⁰ See Hannah More: *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1801 edition) vol. 2, p. 320.

³¹ See *Essay on Education*, 1802, vol. 2, p. 320.

³² See J. H. Plumb: 'The Walpoles: Father and Son,' *Studies in Social History*, 1953, *Life of William Hutton*, 1817, pp. 29-30; E. Gibbon: *Autobiography*, p. 112; W. Jones: *Letters from a Tutor to his Pupils*, 1775, p. 8; G. M. Trevelyan: *English Social History*, 1946, p. 309.

³³ See C. Booth: 'Occupations of People in the United Kingdom, 1801-1881,' *Journal of the Statistical Society*, 1886.

³⁴ See vol. 9, pp. 222-3.

³⁵ See R. L. Edgeworth: *Professional Education*.

³⁶ It was one of William Cobbett's main objections to school education that it kept the young in subservience and dependence longer than the economic system justified. See *Advice to Young Men* ('Where in all creation, is there so helpless a mortal as a boy who has been always at school?')

³⁷ The typical child's story of the mid 19th century was a school story and no longer a tale of family life. Peer-group morality was the subject of Tom Brown's *Schooldays* (1856), *Eric, or Little by Little* (1858), *Boys' Own Paper* (from 1879), *Stalky & Co.* (1903). Cf. the concern with child-parent relationships in the late 18th century stories: *The Happy Family . . . Intended to Shew the Delightful Effects of Filial Obedience* (1786), *The Happy Family at Eason House, Exhibited in the Amiable Conduct of the Little Nelsons and their Parents* (1799), *History of the Daveport Family* (1800).

³⁸ See E. C. Mack: *op. cit.*, pp. 400-1.

³⁹ See Clara Reeve: *Plans of Education*, 1792, and J. W. Whitchurch: *op. cit.*, pp. 103 and 115.

⁴⁰ See *Schools Inquiry Commission*, 1868, for the reports of Mr. Stanton (vol. 13, p. 43) and Mr. Bryce (vol. 9, pp. 589 and 724).

⁴¹ Clara Reeve: *op. cit.*, pp. 134-5.

⁴² For evidence of lack of professional opportunity at the time of Public School expansion see J. C. Hudson: *The Parent's Handbook*, 1842; F. Davenant: *What Shall My Son Be?* 1870.

⁴³ See C. Booth: *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ e.g. Quaker, Woodard and Wesleyan boarding schools. See *Schools Inquiry Commission*, vol. 9, p. 231.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 45, vol. 9, p. 151, vol. 12, p. 35, vol. 14, p. 123.

⁴⁶ See *Les Ouvriers Européens*, 1855.

⁴⁷ See C. Ansell: *Statistics of Families*, 1874, for increasing average age at marriage of professional men.

⁴⁸ See Clara Reeve: *op. cit.*, pp. 119-20.

⁴⁹ See Bessie Parkes: 'A Year's Experience of Women's Work,' *Trans., N.A.P.S.C.*, 1860.

⁵⁰ See *Home Education*, 1899.

⁵¹ For an extensive exposition and development of the themes outlined in this paper see F. Musgrove: *The Family as an Educational Institution 1760-1860*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1958.

THE LEADER-FOLLOWER RELATIONSHIP

T. E. Stephenson

One facet of the study of organisation and inextricably interwoven with it, is the problem of leadership.

There are two main lines of thought on this problem. The first regards leadership as a social process which is an integral part of 'the structure of the group and the individual members who are being led.'¹ From this point of view there is no perfect leader, for the leader only acts in real situations. This suggests two notions, first, that the person who is the leader in one situation may not be the leader in another; there is no such thing as a 'born' leader who leads in all situations. Second, it means that if leadership is a function of the situation and of the people being led, there will be many different leader-follower situations and that just as there is no perfect leader so there can be no general list of the qualities that are required for leadership. The qualities required in one situation may have little or no relevance in another.²

This does not imply that there can be no training for leaders: in a given situation the performance of the leader can be improved, but the type of training needs to be adapted to the situation, that is to say the training is not for leadership but for leadership in a given situation.

The second line of thought may be said to define leadership in terms of personal qualities. This implies that there are certain basic qualities which are common to all situations in which leadership is needed. The lists of qualities required for leadership vary considerably in length, an example of such a list would be that of Field Marshall Sir William Slim, with courage, will-power, flexibility of mind, knowledge and integrity.³ This type of list tends to isolate the leader and pays little attention either to the people being led or to the situation. Furthermore it tends to suggest that leadership is a one-way process from the leader to the led, whereas the first line of approach considers leadership as a two-way process in which the leader influences and is influenced by his followers but 'influences more than he is influenced'.⁴

Often linked with the second approach is the belief that these

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qualities are intangible, imponderable and instinctive, in consequence they are not to be acquired. While this belief still persists in some quarters, there is an increased awareness that some of the characteristics of leadership can be learnt and many lists include such qualities; for example sound general knowledge and managerial ability,⁵ intellectual capacity,⁶ and ability to communicate.⁷

In addition to these divergent approaches there is also the distinction between the informal leader, the man who in a given group in a given situation becomes the leader⁸ and the formal leader with his official status who is followed 'at least in part by virtue of (his) office'.⁹

In the light of the above, a survey was carried out by the Department of Industrial Administration, the Royal College of Science and Technology, Glasgow, into the relationship between leader and follower as seen by the follower.

This survey was carried out with students who attended various courses organised by the department. The students were all managers, either at supervisory or higher management levels, so that a wide spread of views on the leader-follower relationship were considered.

The members of particular courses were each asked to write descriptions of both the best and the worst leaders that they had known. These descriptions were not prejudiced by any preliminary discussion of leaders or leadership. The leaders to be described did not need to be chosen from industry, though out of 194 descriptions only some ten were non-industrial and these were mainly service examples. Neither did they need to be formal leaders, though all the descriptions were of this category. The possible field of survey was therefore wide, and the only conditions that were stated were—

- (a) that the leaders to be described should be personally well known to the writer. This was to avoid descriptions of national leaders, known only through the press or by repute.
- (b) that the description should not be a composite figure of a number of good or bad leaders.
- (c) that the observations should not represent the writer's views of what he considered to be the characteristics of good or bad leaders, but should form a statement of particular individuals whom he considered to be the best or worst leaders in 'his experience, though they might, in someone else's view, be only 'fairly good' or 'fairly bad.'

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(d) that the description should avoid generalisations and impressions and as far as possible describe the actual behaviour and actions of the person. (It became evident that this was not always achieved.)

Each student completed separate descriptions of his best and worst leaders. Then meeting in groups of from four to nine members, the students discussed the various descriptions to see if there were any qualities or patterns of action that were common to all good leaders on the one hand and to all bad leaders on the other. Though the sample size of these groups was small, the groups made notes of the discussion and this report often took the form of a table of the main characteristics of the individual leaders, against each item being related the number of descriptions in which that point had been made. The number of main characteristics in these tables varied from twelve to twenty-six, and in bringing all these descriptions together for the purpose of this survey there were in the 98 reports on the best leader 74 good characteristics mentioned, with 12 bad points about them. The frequency of comment about these various features varied from a single mention to 58 mentions. From the 96 reports on the worst leader there were 59 regrettable characteristics, with 17 good points about him. The frequency of comment varied here from one to thirty-eight. The leaders described were drawn from a wide range of industry, and the level of authority ranged from that of foreman to managing director.

The purpose of this analysis is not to draw up a list of qualities which are considered essential in the leader, but to consider the relationship between the leader and follower in the light of the survey.

In order to facilitate the discussion, the various points have been grouped, though it is recognised that such a classification is open to dispute as many of the points would fit into more than one category. The titles of these categories may appear to be arbitrary, but their purpose is more, as labels, to facilitate exposition than as definitive titles.

The first grouping of points (Table 1.) is concerned with the leader's knowledge, experience and education. As will be seen the number of references to the adequate technical knowledge of the best leader was 58, the highest number of references in the whole survey. This was paralleled however by 24 references to the adequate technical knowledge of the bad leader, only 16 references being made

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to his inadequate training. In both the best and worst leaders the possession of adequate technical knowledge was important to the follower. For the followers of the best leaders, such knowledge gave them a sense of security, because it was at their disposal. It was important to the follower of the worst leaders in that it gave some compensation for other defects, the fact that 'he knows what he is doing' gave some comfort even though the knowledge might not be passed on adequately.

Table I.
Experience and Education

The Best Leader		The Worst Leader	
Adequate technical knowledge	*58	Inadequate technical knowledge	16
Wide experience	4	Narrow experience	4
Had intelligence	19	Lacked intelligence	7
Clear and logical thinking	21	Decisions on hearsay	4
Powers of observation	4	Snap decisions	2
General knowledge	11		
Higher education	11		
No training†	2	Adequate technical knowledge	24
		Higher education	10
		Had intelligence	3

*These figures represent the number of reports in which comment was made.

†The items under the line refer to the bad points of the good leader and the good points of the bad leader.

In all tables there was mention of 12 bad points in good leaders totalling in all some 16 references, there were 17 good points in bad leaders totalling some 92 references.

The sizeable number of references to adequate technical knowledge even in the worst leaders suggests that these leaders were probably selected for their posts because of their technical ability.

This technical knowledge is differentiated from general education, which received comments to the effect that a good formal general education was not necessarily a part of the background of the good leader. Comments from reports on good leaders mentioned that 'Apparently education makes very little difference to leadership, there being an even balance of well and semi-educated people on both good and bad side' or that 'education need not necessarily affect leadership.' An individual report on the worst leader mentioned 'The worst leader I know is one of the most charming persons I have ever met, obviously well educated and with good technical ability' and another 'he had all the advantages which a good education and training normally give a man.' In spite of this attitude to general education, it is to be noted that in the best leaders 'clear and

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logical thinking' is mentioned frequently (21 times) and this might be considered a consequence of a good formal education.

The second grouping of points (Table II) is concerned with the organising and co-ordinating aspects of leadership. Some 57 references were made to the organising and planning ability of the best leaders while 27 references were made to the lack of planning and organising in the worst leaders. Here again it would seem that this ability of the best leader helped to create for his followers a sense of security and purpose in the work situation; it is noticeable that 8 references were made to bad leaders who could plan.

Table II.
Organising and Co-ordinating Ability

The Best Leader	The Worst Leader	
Organising ability	30	No planning or organising
—proficient	8	... 27
—avoids waste	6	
Looks ahead	27	
Willing to delegate jobs	38	Refused to delegate
Gave clear instructions	54	Instructions not clear
—checked to see orders executed	4	... 10
—disseminated information	15	Lack of communication
—not jealous of his own knowledge	2	... 13
Consultation	25	No consultation
—receptive to new ideas	25	Refused to listen to new ideas
—ready to ask for information	15	... 17
—listened to conflicting views	3	Knew it all!
—not fooled	3	... 12
—did not interfere	4	
—good negotiator	3	Interfering
Stuck to decisions if he felt they were right	43	Indecisive
—knew when to compromise	2	... 30
—consistent	1	—lack of confidence
Welcomed responsibility	11	... 15
Good discipline	7	Avoided responsibility
		Passed "buck"
Interfering	1	Disciplined by fear, threats
Did not accept new ideas	2	—lack of discipline
		—inconsistent discipline
		... 6
		Avoided waste
		... 2
		Proficient
		... 8
		Could plan
		... 5
		Delegated responsibility
		... 4
		Accepted new ideas
		... 3
		Good discipline

But the possession of adequate technical knowledge and organising ability seemed to take on an increased importance in the leader-

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follower relationship when the leader was prepared to share his knowledge, to delegate jobs and consult with his subordinates in the process of planning and organising. In the best relationships it became evident that there was less stress on the leader influencing the follower and more on the leader being influenced by the follower. It would seem that the best leader 'has to be stupid enough to listen a great deal, he must certainly arbitrate to maintain order and he has to be at times a mere centre of communications.'¹⁰ The follower appeared to be seeking and obtaining in the case of the best leader a sense of security; in the case of the worst, there developed a sense of insecurity. In the survey of the best leader there were 54 references to the fact that he gave clear and precise instructions and was willing to give his followers information about the purpose and policy of the organisation. This type of action played its part in influencing the relationship, for where information was provided then the dependence of the followers on the unknown and unpredictable was reduced and their sense of security was increased, —'we knew where we stood with him.'

In contrast to this pattern of the democratic leader,¹¹ the worst leader frequently, that is in 38 references, gave imprecise instructions or refused to provide information at all. The result of this was that people felt insecure, they did not know what was happening, for the leader was cut off from them and they had little idea of his intentions, 'the instructions he issued were so disjointed and obscure that it was practically impossible to determine what he did want.' All this seems to illustrate the notion that 'One of the major responsibilities of a leader is the establishment and utilization of a communications system. His communications with his subordinates are the medium through which he directs their efforts.'¹²

In addition to the giving of clear instructions and the dissemination of information, there is another aspect of this particular feature of the leader-follower relationship, that is consultation between leader and follower. In the reports on the best leaders there were some 25 references to consultation, a willingness of these leaders to ask for information from their followers, 15 times, and a receptivity to new ideas which was mentioned 25 times. The best leaders provided their followers with the opportunity to express their ideas and to contribute suggestions often before the leader took action on matters which would affect the followers. This meant that the follower was given the chance to more fully develop his capacities

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and skills through participation in the work situation.

This would seem to mean that the best leader thought in terms of co-operation. While 'an obvious function of a leader is to know and say what to do, what not to do, where to go, and when to stop, with reference to the general purpose or objective of the undertaking in which he is engaged'¹³ there is a further function 'of securing the co-operation of individuals in attaining that purpose.'¹⁴ This development of co-operative attitudes was recognised as important in the best leader-follower relationship, being a move away from the old idea of obedience viewed as a passive condition, in which the follower passively accepted the orders of the leader and the task of the leader was to persuade people to follow him. The practice of the best leader was to train men to work with him.

As a result of the leader's willingness to consult and listen to new ideas 'everybody is made to feel that they are part of the scheme of things' and morale would reach a high level as 'he built up their confidence in themselves and their chief' and another on 'appropriate occasions would discuss freely with those of us concerned his difficulties, hope and fears . . . this did much to give us a feeling of joint responsibility.' Here emerges the pattern of democratic leadership in which the follower participates and from which he is able to draw satisfaction.

Arising out of this consultation there was a readiness to delegate responsibility, this being referred to 38 times, because of the leaders' trust and confidence in the followers. This delegation of responsibility carried with it a sense of participation in the organisation, and there was little interference by the leader once he had delegated responsibility. The leader was performing the co-operative function and in doing so was meeting the demands of the followers in the work situation. Of one leader it was remarked that 'he implied his confidence and trust in your capabilities. This plus his enthusiasm resulted in inspiring you to greater effort on the grounds that you could not let the side down.'

On the other hand, reports on the worst leader produced only three direct references to the subject of consultation and these were to mention that the worst leader did not consult his followers. It was also noticeable that 17 of the worst leaders refused to listen to new ideas and that 12 were not prepared to ask for information because 'they knew it all.' However, four of the worst leaders were prepared to listen to new ideas.

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While there was little reference to consultation, there was considerable comment on discipline in contrast to the limited direct reference to discipline among the best leaders. Discipline by threats, 31, inconsistent discipline, 4, lack of discipline, 9, and good discipline, 3, are mentioned in the descriptions of the worst leaders; 7 references were made to good discipline with the best leader. This would seem to suggest that in the best leader-follower relationship, the follower was not conscious of discipline being imposed from without, indeed discipline became part of the situation, it was self imposed. It would also seem to bear out the notion that where there is the 'democratic social climate'¹⁵ a mild degree of discipline is adequate and unobtrusive, while in the 'authoritarian social climate' even the most severe discipline will be unsuccessful in so far that it tends to reduce the feeling of satisfaction in the work situation, it reduces the opportunity for participation and isolates leader from follower. In addition to being unsuccessful it will be obtrusive, emphasizing the distinction between the leader and follower and making the latter more conscious of his 'inferior' position.

In contrast to the best leader who through consultation and the delegation of responsibility implied confidence in the follower, the worst leader refused to delegate responsibility because 'he openly stated he could not trust anyone except himself to execute a task properly' while another 'never trusted a subordinate, even if the individual had years and years of experience.' There emerges the pattern of activity of an authoritarian type leader upholding the master-man theory. He is a one-man band in contrast to the democratic leader who is more the conductor of an orchestra.

It can be said with the best leaders an 'atmosphere of approval' was created between themselves and their followers, 'this atmosphere is revealed not by what the superior does but by the manner in which he does it, and by his underlying attitude towards his subordinates.'¹⁶ This attitude was implicit in much of the activity of the best leader, and its importance to the followers was evident for, without this attitude, there would not have been a readiness to give information, to consult and listen to new ideas. Though the standard set by many of the best leaders was high, and often they were noted for being hardworking, the follower responded because of the 'atmosphere of approval.' On the other hand with the worst leaders there was an 'atmosphere of disapproval' again revealed by the manner in which things were done and by the underlying attitudes,

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'the only solution to the present strife in industry was to have a spell of unemployment.'

The importance of this atmosphere of approval or disapproval seemed to be in its effect on the attitude of the follower and of the satisfaction or otherwise that he obtained from the work situation, this being dependent on the security or insecurity experienced. Where there was an atmosphere of approval the follower tended to feel secure, and made it possible for him to develop himself through more active participation in the leader-follower relationship. Where there was disapproval then insecurity and withdrawal were in evidence.

Next in Table II there was considerable comment on the decisive nature of the leader, 43 references being made to the best leader 'who sticks to his decisions if he feels justified,' while mention was made of 30 of the worst leaders who were indecisive. Thus while there was favourable comment on the leader who consulted his followers and was receptive to new ideas and generally acted as a democratic leader, there was no desire on the part of the followers that he should be a *laissez-faire* leader; they expected that decisions would be made and adhered to when justified. With this decision-making quality there was comment on the best leaders, 11 of them, who were prepared to accept responsibility in contrast to the worst leaders who avoided responsibility or 'passed the buck,' a total of 28 mentions. The follower not only wished to share in responsibility when jobs were delegated to him, he wanted the leader also to accept responsibility.

Turning from the organising and co-ordinating aspects of the leader-follower relationship, we come to Table III, to the 'individual relationship.' As may be seen there is some overlap, for the actions which made the leader respected by the individual followers and the groups also helped to create the atmosphere of approval or disapproval that has just been discussed.

An example of this individual relationship may be found in the approach to the leader's function of criticism. In the descriptions of the best leaders, the question of criticism received frequent mention, in those of the worst leaders there was much less comment.

It was noted 31 times that the best leaders gave blame when justified, that they gave praise when justified 56 times. That the worst leaders were never appreciative was referred to on 19 occasions; there was no mention that the worst leaders gave blame when

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justified. This divergence between best and worst indicated the different type of relationship that existed: between the best leader and follower there was a sense of give and take, the follower being prepared to admit that blame could be justified and that he could make mistakes. Between the worst leader and the follower the give and take was lacking and the follower unwilling to admit to mistakes. In connection with the making of criticism, it was also noted that the best leaders were not petty while the worst harboured spite; while the best leader would criticise a mistake and set about putting it right and forgetting about it afterwards, the worst leader 'never forgot a mistake but harped on it at the slightest provocation.' The first criticism was mainly in the form of advice, the second in the form of reproaches.

Table III.
Individual Relationship

The Best Leader		The Worst Leader	
Respected	23	Not respected	8
Gave blame when justified	31	Did not blame when justified	1
—no public criticism	4	Public criticism	8
—not petty	4	Mountains from molehills	2
—constructive criticism	2	Destructive criticism	4
Gave praise when justified	56	Never appreciative	19
Interested in people	32	Harboured spite	9
Accessible and approachable	39	Not interested in people	15
Loyal to own staff	45	Inaccessible and not approachable	26
Loyal to superiors	45	Not loyal to staff	28
Accepted responsibility for own mistakes	9	Did not trust staff	4
—learnt from mistakes	1	Disloyal to superiors	9
Considered others for promotion	2	Toaded to superiors	15
Understood human beings	2	Always took credit	7
—did not try to make people feel stupid	1		
—made people feel important	2		
Inspired others	43	Did not inspire	13
—enthusiastic	16		
—forceful with others	5		
—hardworking	22	Lazy	8
—ready to do job himself	3		
Disloyal to superior	1	Loyal to subordinates	3
Over-enthusiastic	2	Gave credit where due	1
		Accessible and approachable	11
		Enthusiastic	4
		Hard worker	2

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With the critical functions of the leader, there was the question of the leader's loyalty. The best leaders, some 9 of them, were ready to accept responsibility for their own mistakes and not thrust them on to their followers, while 9 of the worst leaders tended to take all the credit for the good work of their followers. In general terms, reference was made, 45 times, to the loyalty of the best leaders to their followers, while 32 references were made to the disloyalty of the worst. In regard to the attitude of the leaders to their own superiors, the best leaders, 45 of them, were loyal to their superiors while the worst were either disloyal, mentioned 9 times, or were toadies, 15 of them.

There emerges a consistent pattern of action: there is support for the follower from his leader, there is a sense of confidence which is reinforced by the loyalty of the leader to his superiors. The follower does not appear to regard the best leader as one who is only loyal to the followers but not to his own superiors, the follower prefers consistency, i.e. loyalty to both. With the worst leaders there is either inconsistency or consistent disloyalty, neither creates that feeling of security or builds up that atmosphere of approval which also facilitates participation. Hence communication between leader and follower is made much more difficult and this in turn affects adversely the leader-follower relationship.

Other aspects of the individual relationship which were brought to light by the descriptions, included 32 references to the personal interest of the best leaders in their followers, 'enquiries about their health after illness, helps them when in trouble even when this is not directly connected with the job.' This is in contrast to the worst leaders, 15 of them, who showed no interest in their followers, e.g. 'he had no personal interest in his workers, claiming that it was none of his business.' Linked with this personal interest were references to the accessibility of the leader; in the case of the best leaders, reference was made (39 times) to their accessibility, their willingness to listen to the follower, whether on business or personal matters, and this was also connected to their readiness to ask for information, accept new ideas and consult. The effect of their accessibility and personal interest appeared to increase the follower's sense of belonging to a group, and of having some importance. In contrast, the worst leaders, some 26, proved to be somewhat inaccessible. This separation of leader from follower appeared to weaken the follower's sense of assurance, for he seemed to take the attitude that the leader was

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not worried about what happened to him, not caring whether he sank or swam. The follower was obviously concerned about the accessibility of the leader for there were references to the fact that 11 bad leaders were accessible.

Finally in considering the individual relationship, the best leaders were noted for their ability to 'inspire' their followers, 'He performs his job in such a manner that people cannot help working together to help him.' In this connection enthusiasm, referred to 16 times, and a willingness to work hard, with 22 mentions, played their part, —he 'was always willing to do some of the donkey work.' Little mention was made directly of the lack of inspiration of the worst leaders, though it was implicit in many of the other observations. Laziness did not however seem prominent with the worst leaders.

Now we turn to Table IV to consider the 'person of the leader.' Here were listed such features as tact (20), just (19), patient, sympathetic (21), calm under pressure (17), honest (24), this latter referring to a man's integrity. The need for a 'good sense of humour' was mentioned but 9 times, not as frequently as might have been expected. There was mention in 17 cases of the best leader's temper, three of which referred to bad temper, the rest to good or fair temper. There was the suspicion in some reports that any leader who never lost his temper was suspect, a justifiable loss of temper was acceptable. The possession of good manners, 9 references, or charm, 2 mentions, were not regarded as obvious features of the best leaders studied, while of the worst, good manners on 3 occasions and charm on 10 were reported. With both the best and worst leaders comment was made on their punctuality, which seemed to be connected with the desire for some regularity in the work situation. If the follower had to be at work punctually, the leader should do likewise, so that there was not one law for the follower and another for the leader. The importance of this in the leader-follower relationship was evident from the interest of the follower in this aspect of the leader. 'Was he punctual?' seems to have been a question that arose frequently in the minds of the reporters.

Other aspects of the person of the leader that were considered included his appearance, his dress, tidiness and bearing: in the descriptions of the best leaders there were 19 references to a 'good appearance' and 2 to untidiness; with the worst leaders there were 18 comments on good appearance and 2 on bad. Physical appearance did not seem to distinguish the best from the worst leader. The

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health of leaders received little comment.

The personal behaviour of the leader was observed on many occasions. The good personal behaviour of the best leaders was mentioned 23 times, while the undesirable behaviour of the worst leaders was mentioned on 16 occasions, and the bad behaviour of the best, 2 comments—'This man leads a very bad personal life being constantly intoxicated.' The good behaviour of the worst, 3 mentions, received little notice. 'Undesirable personal behaviour' was frequently connected with drinking.

Table IV.
The Person of the Leader

The Best Leader	The Worst Leader
Tactful ...	20
Just ...	19
Patient, sympathetic ...	21
Honest ...	24
A sense of humour ...	9
Calm under pressure ...	17
Tolerant ...	2
Firm ...	10
—would not stand dishonesty	1
Frank and forthright ...	2
No favourites ...	4
Never quite lost temper ...	14
Good manners ...	9
Charm ...	2
Resourceful ...	11
Self-disciplined ...	2
Had courage ...	2
Independent ...	1
Popular ...	2
Efficient manner ...	4
Tidy papers ...	1
Good health ...	8
Poor health ...	2
Good appearance ...	19
Poor appearance, untidy ...	2
Punctual ...	16
Good personal behaviour ...	23
Bad personal behaviour ...	2
Tactless...	1
Violent temper...	2
Variable temper...	1
Bad timekeeping...	1
Intolerant ...	1
Never apologised ...	1
Vain ...	1
Good manners	...
Dashing?	...
Calm

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Summary and conclusions.

The leadership problem has three interacting factors, the leader, the people led, and the situation.

The leader may be seen as 'influencing and energising . . . people to work together in a common effort to achieve the purposes of the enterprise'.¹⁷ He is the prime mover who initiates action, ensures that it keeps moving in the right direction and assesses the results as compared with the original plan. These functions are not performed in a vacuum and while the leader in large measure affects the other two factors he is, in turn, affected by them.

Not only must the leader be able to direct his followers in the performance of their tasks, he must be able to gain their confidence, respect and support, i.e. they have to accept him as their leader if he is to achieve the degree of co-operation essential for maximum effectiveness. This requires that he be able to understand their problems and represent their interests fairly and also command their respect through his obvious competence and their liking for him as an individual.

The leader-follower relationship however operates in a situation, which will affect and be affected by the relationship. In some situations the leader is unable to alter objectives, policies and methods and this will circumscribe his activities; in other cases the leader may be able to change them and this will affect the pattern of his leadership. In both cases the leader and followers must act within the situation and this has led to the exposition of the 'law of the situation'.¹⁸

From this statement of the leadership problem, we can turn to discuss the needs and demands that are made on the total situation, for in the survey the descriptions were not based on the notion that one man was a leader, but that in a given situation he was the best or worst leader. While all were formal leaders they were using differing techniques of leadership.

From the descriptions analysed, the follower appeared to stress firstly that the best leader had adequate technical knowledge. Secondly, that he had planning and co-ordinating ability which included an ability to give clear instructions; a willingness to disseminate information and to consult with people and accept new ideas, but be ready to stick to decisions which the leader felt were justified; and a willingness to delegate responsibility. Thirdly, that

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in his relationship with the followers he gave praise and blame impartially, was loyal to superiors and followers, was interested in people and inspired them. Finally the best leader had certain personal qualities of a very general nature. All these comments relate to a leader in a situation.

Thus it would seem that the best leader by these actions and the attitudes implicit in them, met the needs and demands of the followers, while the worst leaders failed to do so. It is to be remembered that the judgments of best and worst were not related to production standards.

It would appear that the best leader did much to meet the follower's need for security in the work situation. In the first place he appears to have created the atmosphere of approval so that people were able to operate without the spur of fear. In the second, he provided information so that people knew what was happening, what was expected and what part they had to play, which made it more possible for them to organise their environment and gave them increased confidence. Thirdly there was a consistent pattern of action established in the relationship; praise and blame were proffered impartially and the leader was loyal to all whilst still being decisive. People knew where they stood and as a result their sense of assurance was increased. The emphasis on the sound technical knowledge of the leader would also seem to be indicative of the need for reliability in the work situation, there being the feeling that the leader must have knowledge in order to make sound decisions: he must have information to place before the followers in order to plan ahead.

Then the best leader seemed to meet the demand for satisfaction in work performance, through praise for a job well done and through the delegation of responsibility.

The demand to be recognised as a person was met by the willingness of the best leader to listen to individuals, to consult them and accept ideas from them. The availability and interest of the leader in people also contributed to meeting this particular need.

At the same time the need to feel part of a group with contributions to make to that group was recognised by the best leader through his development of the team spirit and the opportunities he provided for his followers to participate in decision making.

There was also the desire of the follower to count for something as a responsible individual and as a member of an organisation, who wants to feel that he has a purpose to fulfil. The best leaders reported

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in the survey made their followers feel that they were important. The worst leader was usually not conscious of these needs; by his actions and attitudes he created insecurity, he reduced work satisfaction and widened the gap between leader and follower by his inaccessibility, his refusal to listen to new ideas and his rejection of consultation. With the best leader satisfaction was achieved and morale improved and a certain degree of harmony was established. With the worst there tended to be disharmony, strain and frustration.

The best leader brought certain demands to the leader-follower situation. From the survey it was evident that he expected the followers to respond to the atmosphere of approval by accepting blame when it was necessary, further, that they would be prepared to come to him for information and be ready to provide him with facts and suggestions, but would accept his decisions when justified. At the same time he expected that if responsibility was delegated to them they would accept it. In other words he needed their loyalty.

These leader-follower needs are the minimum brought to the situation and they illustrate the two-way nature of the relationship.

From the survey there emerges in the descriptions of the best leaders at all levels from supervisory to higher management, the pattern of democratic leadership, while from the worst there develops a pattern of incompetent authoritarian leadership. In the former there is co-operation between the leader and follower and a flexibility of attitudes and actions. In the latter, leader and follower remain separated and inflexible. In the one there is a satisfaction of needs and a heightened morale, in the other little or no satisfaction and low morale.

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¹ L. F. Urwick: *Leadership in the Twentieth Century*, Pitman, 1957. From the Foreword by F. A. Heller, p. v.

² W. J. H. Sprott: *Social Psychology*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1952. Chap. V. Leadership.

³ Field Marshall Sir William Slim: *Leadership*, The Sydney division of the Australian Institute of Management, Nov. 1953.

⁴ H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills: *Character and Social Structure*, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1954, p. 405.

^{5, 6 and 7} H. Fayol, C. Barnard, Field Marshall Viscount Wavell: *Leadership in the Twentieth Century*. L. F. Urwick, pp. 50-1.

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⁸ For further distinctions between the natural, elected and sociometric leader see D. C. Miller & W. H. Form: *Industrial Sociology*, Harper & Bros., 1951, pp. 497-501.

⁹ W. J. H. Sprott: *Social Psychology*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1952, p. 76.

¹⁰ C. I. Barnard: *Organisation and Management*, Harvard University Press, 1952, p. 86.

¹¹ 'A democratic leader is neither a man without power nor a traffic policeman nor an expert who does not affect group goals and group decisions.' K. Lewin: *Field Theory in Social Science*, Tavistock Publications, 1952, p. 160.

¹² M. Haire: *Psychology in Management*, McGraw-Hill, 1956, p. 71.

¹³ C. I. Barnard: *Organisation and Management*, Harvard University Press, 1952, pp. 85-6.

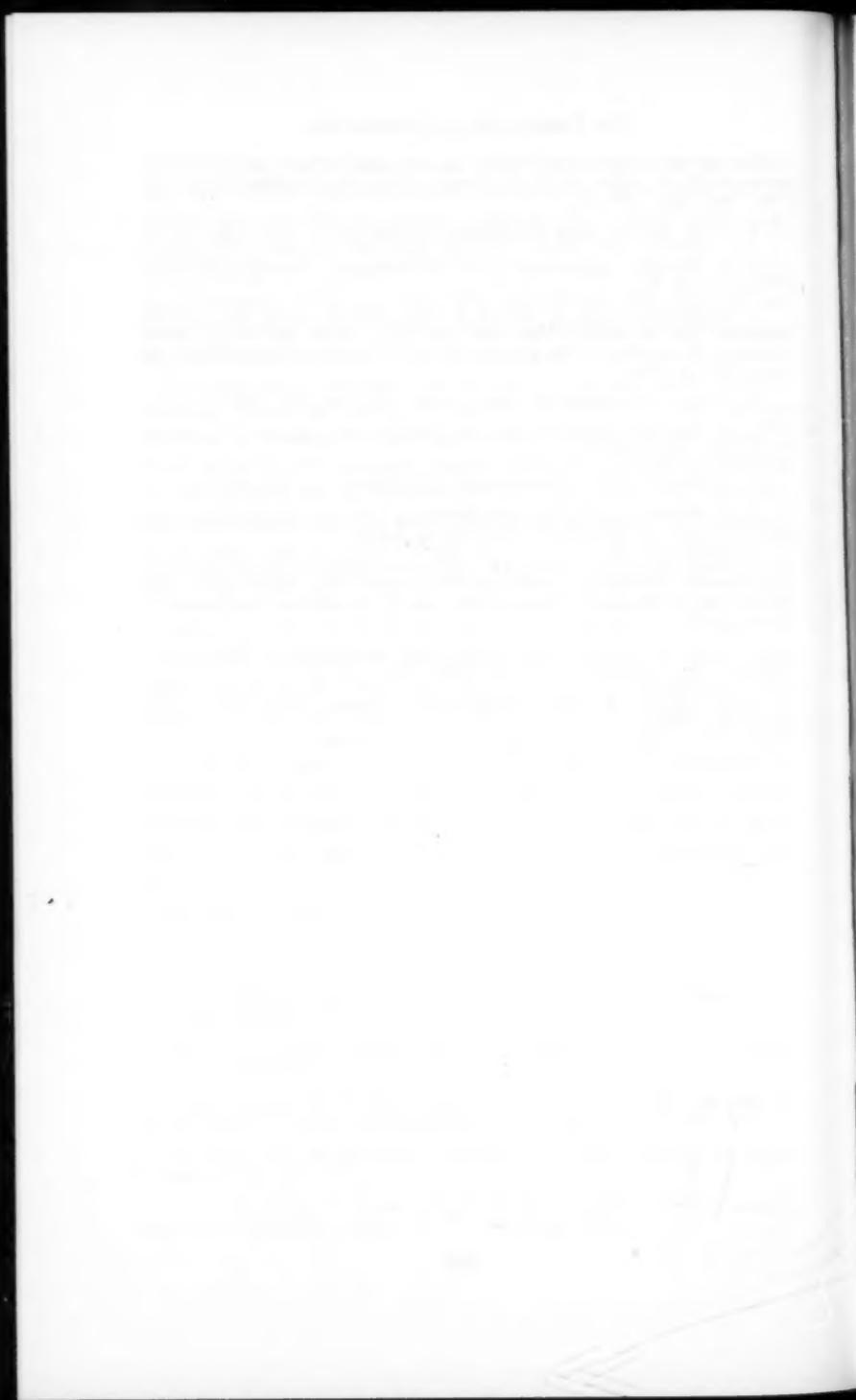
¹⁴ F. J. Roethlisberger: *Management and Morale*, H.U.P., 1956, p. 142.

¹⁵ M. S. Viteles: *Motivation and Morale in Industry*, Staples Press Ltd., 1954, pp. 119-120, referring to the work of Lewin.

¹⁶ D. McGregor: 'The Conditions of Effective Leadership in the Industrial Organisation,' *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, VIII, March-April 1944. From *Human Factors in Management*, ed. S. H. Hoslett, MacDonald & Evans, 1948.

¹⁷ C. Seckler-Hudson: *Organisation and Management: Theory and Practice*, The American University Press, 1957, p. 238.

¹⁸ M. P. Follett: *Dynamic Administration*, Pitman, 1955. Chap. 2. The Giving of Orders.



AN ACCOUNT OF RELIGIOUS SOCIOLOGY IN FRANCE

Rev. Michael Jackson

Religious sociology¹ in France is of recent origin. It is an instrument, for the most part, of the Roman Catholic Church. The Church uses some of the techniques of the social sciences upon itself as a social institution and upon the society within which it is placed in order to conduct more effectively its mission to modern France. Religious sociology has opened up new perspectives in Church history. It has helped the Church to appreciate more deeply the geographical and psychological factors which influence religious practice and which have contributed to the 'dechristianisation' of many rural as well as urban areas. It has brought to the French Church a deeper awareness of its mission.

Religious sociology owes much to pioneers in sociology like Le Play, Comte and Durkheim, the first man to hold a chair of sociology in a French University. While rejecting much of the religion of their day these men treated religion as an important social fact and showed that religious practice was as much a social as an individual matter. It also owes much to members of the French Church, who early in the twentieth century pointed to various forms of social misery and to the problems of mission in industrial society.²

Its rapid expansion in the last 25 years is due in particular to the initiative and work of M. Le Bras, Professor of Law at the University of Paris. As a canonist M. Le Bras saw that ecclesiastical law presupposed a form of sociology, since it was devised in part to meet certain social situations. In an article in 1931 he outlined the need for study of religious practice and of the Church as a social institution. Such study should have a historical perspective. The article was manifesto and programme: 'Statistique et histoire religieuse. Pour un examen détaillé et pour une explication historique de l'état du catholicisme dans les diverses régions de France.'³ M. Le Bras set to work on the lines he had proposed. Others joined him. In due course his *Introduction à l'Histoire de la Pratique Religieuse en France* (vol. 1, 1942, vol. 2, 1945)⁴ appeared, supported by a

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number of detailed studies of dioceses and regions.

The other leading figure in this field, Canon Boulard, now Professor of Sociology in the Catholic Institute in Paris and formerly General Secretary of the Jeunesse Agricole Catholique, was not far behind. His study of the religious condition of the French countryside, *Problèmes Missionnaires de la France Rurale*⁵ appeared in 1943.

The war gave an immense stimulus to social thinking and planning in the French Church, represented in the 1930's by the growth of Catholic Action and by the great church building programme in Paris under the 'Chantiers du Cardinal' scheme.⁶ The shock of defeat in 1940, the occupation and resistance, the movement of population and the deportation of many young people for forced labour in Germany upset the life of the Church, revealed unsuspected weaknesses and confirmed known ones. The war and its aftermath gave the leaders of the Church incentives for planning and the younger generation, brought up in the Catholic Youth movements to 'see, judge, act,' motive for pioneering. This was the period of Godin and Daniel's *France, Pays de Mission?*⁷, of the founding of the Missions to France and to Paris, of Canon Boulard's own missionary study, of the launching of the priest-worker experiment⁸ and of experiments in parochial policy, the best known one described in Michonneau's *Paroisse, Communauté Missionnaire?*⁹ It was a time of ferment.

The clear need was for cool study of the Church's situation in order to plan effective mission. It was here that the studies under the general heading of religious sociology, covering history, geography, demography, social psychology and social statistics, came into their own and that the lines of enquiry opened up by Le Bras and Boulard were pursued by many others, as individuals, through organisations of the Church and in periodicals. For example, in 1940 Fr. Lebret, O.P. had founded the now influential 'Economie et Humanisme' organisation as a study centre to synthesise the various social sciences in the service of social development. 'Economie et Humanisme' in addition to particular studies has produced large textbooks for the study of urban and rural communities using these all-embracing methods.¹⁰ Other organisations and periodicals in this field are numerous. Many individual studies have been made. Dioceses have conducted their own surveys, often with the help of Canon Boulard as consultant. A religious map of rural France has

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appeared. A census technique has made possible an accurate picture of religious practice in large cities. Much of this work, with a full bibliography, is described in Boulard's *Premiers Itinéraires en Sociologie Religieuse*.¹¹ An 'Action Populaire' publication *La Sociologie Religieuse*¹² is also a good introduction to it.

The religious map of rural France is perhaps the chief product so far of religious sociology. It is based on attendance at Sunday mass and performance of Easter duties, drawn up parish by parish through surveys and questionnaires to parish clergy. Areas above a certain population density were excluded from the calculations (above 200 persons to the square kilometre). The country has been grouped into three main categories. Category 'A' are areas of majority practice, Category 'B' areas of minority practice but retaining Christian traditions and Category 'C' mission areas. In 'A' areas the majority of the population makes its Easter communion and in principle attends Sunday mass. In 'B' areas a minority practices but the whole area is 'seasonally conformist.' The seasonal conformists are 'the passers-by, whose religion consists of three rites—baptism, marriage and burial, and, often, solemn first communion of the children. People who never enter a church except when the bell tolls for them to inform the parish that they are observing the rites of their ancestors.'¹³ The 'C' areas, mission areas, are partially detached from the Church. A minimum of 20% of children are not baptised or do not attend catechism. As Canon Boulard says: 'These are mission areas in the sense that part of the population deliberately and consciously is not or is no longer in the Church.'¹⁴ From the point of view of the Church's strategy these categories imply different policies. In 'A' areas the Church is in regular contact with the whole of the population. In 'B' areas it is in occasional contact with the population. In 'C' areas there is a breakdown of contact with a significant part of it.

Some rural dioceses have produced more detailed surveys than such a general map can encompass. A notable example is *Pratique Religieuse et Orientations Pastorales*,¹⁵ a survey of the diocese of Séz in Normandy. It analyses religious practice by age, sex and occupation and relates it to social factors such as the movement of population to school and work. Religious practice is broken down into 11 categories shown on coloured maps.

The questions suggested by the different types of religious maps are (1) geographical, (2) historical and (3) social.

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(1) *Geography.* Is there a religious geography? The geographical distribution of the three categories in the religious map of rural France is interesting. The 'A' areas tend to be the fringe and more inaccessible parts of France—Brittany, the Pyrenees, Central Massif, Alsace and the extreme North. The 'B' areas spread out from the large cities. Paris is the centre of a vast 'B' area stretching to the Pyrenees in the south-west; Bordeaux, Marseilles and Toulouse are the centres of their own 'B' areas. There are patches of category 'C' in the 'B' areas, with, in particular, one centred on Sens and another near Limoges. The diocese of Séez divides sharply into an 'A' area in the west and a 'B' area in the east. Such distribution of religious practice suggests that there is a religious geography, however it may be modified by other factors. The question of the relative weight to be given to geographical factors in religious practice and to other factors such as social class and occupation is important; it is discussed later.

It is also of interest to compare the geography of religious practice with other forms of geography such as electoral geography or the geography of social class. It has been found that a high level of religious practice is not necessarily accompanied by a heavy vote for the Right, as has often been assumed. For example, the solidly practising East of France voted Left in the first 30 years of the Third Republic. On the other hand, there are certain important similarities between religious and electoral behaviour.¹⁶ Further, while a social group, such as industrial workers, are generally placed low in the religious practice table, their practice varies considerably from region to region. For example, taking Easter communion, 26 to 49 per cent of industrial workers above the age of 14 make their Easter communion in various parts of the diocese of Lille. In the diocese of Meaux the percentages range from 6.5 to 17. In the Etang de Berre region of the diocese of Marseilles the figures for industrial workers are .5 per cent men and 6.3 per cent women.

(2) *History.* How far is the religious geography indicated by the maps of rural France and of the individual dioceses the product of the history of France and of the French Church? What decisive events in French history have changed the pattern of religious practice? What were the influences of the French Revolution, of the Industrial Revolution and of the controversies between Church and State in the nineteenth century? Before the Revolution the religious map of France would probably have presented a uniform Category

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'A' appearance; yet signs of weakness had already appeared. Some of the causes of the present situation are to be sought beneath the superficial uniformity of the eighteenth century and further back still. For example, some of the mission areas of today are the former estates of the great medieval monastic foundations, such as Cluny. There is considerable material for these historical inquiries in diocesan, regional and national archives. Some of it has been analysed by M. Le Bras and his pupils. One effect of the new historical interest aroused by studies in religious sociology has been the appointment by some dioceses of special archivists to set in order records and registers. A more important effect is a new perspective upon Church history. 'Alongside the history of the external relations of the Church and civil society and the history of its intellectual and cultural movements, we see opening up before us the perspective of a religious history of the people and of their daily lives. With the material which we have at our disposal the religious attitude of the whole population comes directly under view, whereas formerly we ran the inevitable risk of excessive generalisation upon some particular cases which the course of history had accidentally preserved.'¹⁷

(3) *Social questions.* These are mainly concerned with the breakdown of figures for age, sex, occupation and class. They border upon psychological questions, such as the attitudes to religion, which go with attendance at mass or abstention from it, or the varying attitudes to religion in different regions and in different social classes. Such questions are related to the previous geographical and historical ones. The breakdowns are not difficult to do, as the Séez survey shows, for example. Social psychology is by no means so easy to tackle. Some work has been done on 'regional mentality'¹⁸ and on religious attitudes,¹⁹ but precise methods have not been worked out for managing the variety of factors involved.

Among studies of religious attitudes Fr. Pin's *Pratique Religieuse et Classes Sociales*²⁰ should be noted. This is an urban study confined to the single parish of St. Pothin at Lyons. It analyses the complex factors which bear upon religious practice: lay-out and housing of the parish, size of family, the inhabitants' places of origin, occupation, and social class. Each item is analysed separately, but the whole is found to be more than the sum of each item. There is a social complex of religious practice which suggests that those who are really integrated into city life, 'bourgeois' in the strict sense,

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are those who attend mass on Sunday. The study attempts to weigh the attitudes of the various classes to religion and discusses the ways in which each class belongs to or is estranged from the life of the parish church.

Surveys of religious practice in large towns are a more recent development, held back by the size of town parishes and by the difficulty of comparison with civil statistics, ecclesiastical and civil boundaries not always being the same. In the last five years a census technique has been used. Each person who attends mass on a given, typical Sunday is asked to fill in a questionnaire, which inquires into age, sex, marital status, place of residence, occupation. The questionnaires are anonymous. The census was first done in Marseilles in 1953, then in Paris and Lyons with slight variations in the questionnaire and finally in many other large towns and urbanised areas.²¹ In a large census of this sort the analysis of results is often done by punched card methods.²² A census is an expensive and complicated piece of administration, involving a considerable number of people.

La Pratique Religieuse dans le Diocèse de Marseille,²³ by the director of the census Mgr. Gros, describes how the census was done, its preparation, conduct and analysis of results. It gives the total figures of religious practice in the diocese according to sex, age and occupation and compares these figures with the corresponding civil ones, showing the proportion of those who attend mass. It goes on to construct and analyse the religious map of Marseilles, contrasting practice in middle class areas with that in working class areas. It discusses some of the reasons for low levels of practice and picks out certain facts, disturbing to ecclesiastical authority, such as the 2 to 1 predominance of women over men at mass and the sharp falling-off from mass after the age of 14. It concludes with an evaluation of the census, which was deliberately limited to the one objective sign of religious vitality, attendance at mass, and with some recommendations for diocesan policy towards the working class world and adolescents.

Wider surveys of cities have filled in the social background of these religious censuses. A good example of such a survey, the production of a team working in co-operation with 'Economic et Humanisme,' is a study of Grenoble, undertaken as a preliminary to a mission to the town, which appeared in 1954 as *Grenoble, Essai de Sociologie Religieuse*.²⁴ It covers the layout of the town and its main activities: industry, commerce, tourist trade, university,

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local government, education, leisure activities, public worship. From data collected under these headings certain tendencies are noted; the distinctive ways in which the inhabitants of Grenoble think and behave; voting behaviour in relation to housing, occupation and income; religious practice in relation to such social data. The study ends with a summary of the main social problems facing the town.

The religious sociology of cities has made a useful contribution to urban sociology. An excellent example is an essay by Fr. Houtart, *L'Eglise et la Pastorale des Grandes Villes*.²⁵ It is a good account of the rapid urbanisation taking place in many parts of the world, of the kind of society produced by large towns, of the complex existence which men lead in them and of the effects of urbanisation upon religion. Some of the information he gives about the very rapid urbanisation of much of the world is perhaps not readily appreciated nor the damaging consequences of very large parishes when towns are growing fast.

Comparison between town and country is interesting. It is now generally concluded that, historically, for the towns the Industrial Revolution was the turning-point in religious practice, whereas for the country it was the French Revolution. In the town social class is seen to be the decisive factor and in the country geography, although social class has an important rôle too.

Small towns are usually on the same level of religious practice as their surrounding country; large towns differ from the surrounding country. They are neither as low in practice as the worst country around them nor as high as the best. Within towns some areas, usually working class, are lower than others but the average level of religious practice does not go to extremes as it does in the country.

In France urbanisation is seen to be a lesser cause of decline in religious practice than industrialisation, which affects town and country alike. An industrial civilisation tends to disrupt traditional forms of religious practice and culture. This explains the pattern of the religious map of the French countryside. Industrialisation with its damaging effect on religious practice operates upon it much as did the Christian mission upon France in Roman times, spreading out from the centres of civilisation, the larger towns, along the main highways and channels of communication. Further decline in practice is probable as the country becomes more industrialised. Unless the Church tackles the problem of a new industrial civilisation in a radical manner it will find itself increasingly in a minority position.

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That town or country need not be 'dechristianised' by industrialisation is shown by some other Catholic areas where special efforts have been made to adapt the Church to a new situation. For example, Belgian Limburg which has been rapidly industrialised in the last 30 years still maintains a level of religious practice above 70%.²⁶

In addition to studies of religious practice and its social and historical background studies have been made of other aspects of religious vitality. There have been various studies of the clergy. The chief work in this field is Boulard's *Essor ou Déclin du Clergé Français?*²⁷ which discusses the social and regional origins of the clergy. It compares the situation today with that in the nineteenth century; it analyses the impact of historical crises on recruitment. It compares recruitment with the map of religious practice. It also compares recruitment to the ranks of the secular clergy with the attraction of the religious orders. It discusses seminary training and the wastage of those seminarists who do not complete their course.

Some work has been done on delays of baptism, frequency of the use of last rites and effectiveness of Catholic Action. Historical studies have been made of dissident forms of religion in France such as Jansenism, of the behaviour of clergy and people during the French Revolution and of parish missions, of which many were conducted by religious orders under the *Ancien Régime*.²⁸

French Protestantism, though in numbers comparatively small, touching around 800,000, is a subject of its own. Rural Protestantism consists largely of two main groups, Calvinist in the South and Lutheran in the East, but French Protestantism is mainly urban. Professor Léonard has made some studies of French Protestantism,²⁹ which contain not only statistics but penetrating insight into the mentality of the French Protestant.

This brief account of work done in the field of religious sociology in France is an attempt to show how the French Church is using religious sociology in order to see clearly the situation in which it is placed.

Religious sociology is sociology at the service of the mission of the Church. The conclusions of the studies in this field are the material of policy decisions in administration. They lead to decisions about the siting of new church buildings, drawing of parochial boundaries, staffing of parishes, timing and frequency of services. Their conclusions suggest where reorientations are to be made in

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teaching or in missionary policy towards particular social groups and institutions or regions of the country. The placing of the Mission to France teams is an indication of this.

In *Premiers Itinéraires en Sociologie Religieuse* Canon Boulard summarises the policy conclusions which emerge from studies in religious sociology under three headings: policy for regions, policy for each social milieu and the need for a continuing policy.³⁰ The first two mean policy for large units, 'ensembles.' Boulard himself has devised the idea, which some dioceses such as Séz and Coutances have put into operation, of dividing the diocese for purposes of mission into natural groupings, 'zones humaines',³¹ which are larger than both parishes and the rather small French deanery. The natural grouping might be defined by some natural feature or might include all those working in a certain industry. The perspective provided by religious sociology helps to promote long-term planning over generations in the place of that quick turnover of policies which is so common in many Churches.

Religious sociology in France rests upon a certain theological understanding, which Canon Boulard discusses in the Séz survey,³² of the Church's relation to society. In the first place he says that the Church is not tied to any one culture or civilisation; it has a mission to all civilisations. Secondly, the Church's concern is with men in their situations, which have important sociological as well as geographical aspects. In a stable pre-industrial society the geographical aspect embraced a man's home, his place of work and his opportunities for recreation. This is no longer true. A world of rapid social change increases the importance of the sociological aspect (factory, school, occupation, etc.). Effective mission therefore requires careful study of the situations in which men live and of the social pressures upon them.

A feature of the contribution of the French delegates to the 1953 International Congress of Religious Sociology³³ was their papers on the relation of religious sociology to other disciplines, in particular to theology. These papers analysed the assumptions of their discipline and the rôle of the practitioner of religious sociology. Religious sociology stands in a position of tension because of a certain tendency towards autonomy, inherited from the nineteenth century fathers of sociology. It is a tendency to cut loose from the theological bases of religious sociology as they are understood by its leading practitioners and to reduce religious practice and behaviour to products

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of certain social, historical and geographical conditions. Nonetheless religious sociologists try to be faithful to theology and to a scientific concern. Religious sociology in France is certainly more than head-counting. Head-counting is important in itself. No Church, unless it prefers to live in a haze of false comfort, can afford to do without reliable, accurate statistics, if it is to operate efficiently and realistically. But French religious sociology is more than that. Behind the statistics and the studies of attitudes and mentality there is a great attempt to establish a science with its own assumptions, hypotheses, classification and typology, which can describe and measure, so far as possible the religious dynamism of social groups and of regions and which can record trends. Lebret of 'Economic et Humanisme' sums up this attempt by claiming that religious sociology 'is not only a valuable specialised aspect of scientific study, but also, and this is more important, an intellectual discipline concerned with matters which are partially transcendent and which aims at the moral improvement and the christianising of humanity.'³⁴

Those who have done most in this field are likely to claim least. Much of the work is groping in the dark to find the limits of religious sociology and to find appropriate methods of studying the various aspects of religion. It is perhaps a handicap to the healthy growth of religious sociology that it has become so fashionable and that most French Catholics now consider themselves sociologists. Seminarists in their vacations do sociological surveys, whereas their English counterparts go on parochial missions. A fashion may conceal the relativity of some conclusions of religious sociology and of some of the interpretations put upon them.³⁵ Whatever qualifications may be made, it remains true that the intellectual revolution, which this wide-embracing movement of studies represents, is teaching the Church, and in so doing involving laymen, to look at the society which it serves through religious eyes.

Religious sociology has had a different history in England. The fifty years of comparative religious boom in the second half of the nineteenth century produced a number of sociological studies of religion. There were the 1851 census of religion,³⁶ various censuses of religion in London³⁷ and Charles Booth's great survey of the religious bodies in London.³⁸ At the same time in the universities philosophers and sociologists treated religion as a fact of social importance.

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accompanied by a waning of interest in sociological studies of religion. The universities in recent years have done little work in this field, although it might be claimed that much of the social compassion which inspired the surveys of poverty early in this century had its origins in religious motives. The Churches, apart from keeping some basic statistical records, have shown little awareness of the possibilities in religious sociology, yet there are now some indications of a new interest in it.³⁹

The English religious situation is complex. Christianity in England has followed a different path from Christianity in France. History has produced quite different religious moods of the people. The assumptions and methods of French religious sociology cannot be transplanted without qualification into England. In France the Roman Catholic Church has a quasi-monopoly: 94% of the population are baptised Catholics. In England the Established Church has powerful rivals in the Nonconformist Churches, which have made great contributions to English history and to the shape of many institutions in English society. The pluralistic religious situation has in turn created the particular religious mood of Englishmen, of which figures of church attendance alone would give a misleading impression. This mood comes out of and encourages an overflow of religion into the attitudes and institutions of the non-church-going population; it could scarcely be grasped by the more formal techniques of French religious sociology.

A further difference lies in the different criteria of vitality used by the English Churches. Each Church has its own universe of discourse. In France the basic criteria are objective signs; attendance at mass and performance of Easter duties. At bottom the difference is one between Catholic and Protestant forms of Christianity. Catholic forms tend to stress outward observance, while Protestant forms tend to stress interior disposition. In England the variety of both objective and subjective criteria of vitality makes comparison between different sets of figures most difficult and dangerous. Membership of the Churches, for example, is hard to assess. Depth studies would therefore have a particularly important rôle. They would correct the misleading picture given by statistics, which remain nonetheless an essential starting-point, and they would help the investigator to avoid the trap of superficial comparisons both between the Churches in this country and between the two countries.

'Dechristianisation' is a term which illustrates the danger of super-

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ficial comparison. For the French religious sociologist it is a technical judgment based on objective criteria, mainly attendance at mass but sometimes, also, baptism returns or ordination figures. Attitudes are deliberately excluded. Yet in the English religious situation dechristianisation suggests a complex of absence from church and hostility or indifference to a set of religious values. Sociological clarification of the term for English use would need to take account of attitudes and beliefs as well as of practice.

The difficulties of analysing the English religious situation should stimulate rather than deter. From the point of view of the Churches the need for more accurate studies of their situation is as great as in France, if the mission of the Church in an industrial society is to be conducted with insight and realism. From the point of view of academic sociology a revival of sociological studies of religion would be healthy. Religion continues to play an important part in society, even if the Churches are in a weaker position in the life of the nation than in the days of Victorian religious boom. To omit the study of religion is to form a distorted picture of English society. A return to the broader interests of the nineteenth century sociologists would be desirable—a return not just to the more easily managed study of the small sect but to the study of the main stream of Church life and concerns.

The sociological study of religion could provide a fruitful field for co-operation between the Churches and the professional sociologist. It was noteworthy that one of the preparatory documents for the Lambeth Conference of 1958 welcomed from the side of the Church of England such co-operation. It stated: 'We believe that a Church which hopes to make any impact in its local situation must set its theologians and its administrators to work with the men and women of integrity (be they Christian or not) engaged locally in academic study, field research, or administration or community service; in order, first to understand what the situation really is, and then to order Church life and activity in it accordingly.'⁴⁰ At the same time those who engage in such co-operative study must be aware of the theological and philosophical assumptions in their approach. These assumptions may remain hidden in the gathering of information, but if, as Max Weber said, 'sociology is the science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action',⁴¹ interpretation will force them into the open.

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¹ 'Religious sociology' and 'sociology of religion,' though often used interchangeably, do not mean the same thing. The sociology of religion extends the study of the social aspects of religion to all the world religions. In France religious sociology means the study of the social aspects of Catholicism by Catholics within the context of Catholic theology. Professor Le Bras described those attending the 1953 International Conference of Religious Sociology as 'catholiques désireux de voir les choses comme elles sont, d'éclairer par la théologie leurs conclusions . . .' (*Sociologie Religieuse Sciences Sociales*, Editions Ouvrières, Paris, 1955, p. 10).

² Action Populaire's special number, 'La Sociologie Religieuse,' Editions Spes, May 1957, in their series *Cahiers d'Action Religieuse et Sociale* refers, p. 3, to the individuals and organisations who made later development possible.

³ Originally published in the *Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France*, pp. 425-449; now included in the 2 vol. collection of Le Bras' works *Etudes de Sociologie Religieuse*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1955, 1956, vol. 1, pp. 1-24.

⁴ Most of the 2 vols. are incorporated in *Etudes de Sociologie Religieuse*.

⁵ 2 vols., Editions du Cerf.

⁶ Mgr. Touzé: *Les Cent Eglises Nouvelles du Diocèse de Paris*; cf. P. Winninger: *Construire des Eglises*, Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1957, ch. 6. Winninger's book is an interesting survey of parochial structure.

⁷ Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1943; English edition by Maisie Ward, *France Pagan? The Mission of the Abbé Godin*, Sheed & Ward, London, 1949.

⁸ Two personal accounts of priest-workers have appeared in English: Henri Perrin: *Priest-Workman in Germany*, Sheed & Ward, London, 1948, translation of *Journal d'un Prêtre-Ouvrier en Allemagne*, Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1945, and M. R. Loew: *Mission to the Poorest*, Sheed & Ward, London, 1950, translation of *En Mission Prolétarienne*, Economie et Humanisme, Paris, 1946. *The Worker-Priests, a Collective Documentation*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1956, translation of *Les Prêtres Ouvriers*, Editions du Minuit, Paris, 1954, is a full account of the experiment and of its closure in 1954.

⁹ Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1946; English translation, *Revolution in a City Parish*, Blackfriars, Oxford, 1949.

¹⁰ *Guide Pratique de l'Enquête Sociale*, Presses Universitaires de France; vol. 1, *L'Enquête Urbaine*, vol. 2, *L'Enquête Rurale*.

¹¹ Editions Ouvrières, Paris, 1955.

¹² cf. note 2.

¹³ G. Le Bras: *Etudes de Sociologie Religieuse*, vol. 1, p. 5.

¹⁴ F. Boulard: *Premiers Itinéraires en Sociologie Religieuse*, p. 26, which contains the religious map of rural France. The map is published separately by *Cahiers du Clergé Rural*, 13 rue du Docteur-Roux, Paris 15: it also appears in Le Bras: *Etudes de Sociologie Religieuse*, vol. 1, p. 325.

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¹⁵ Direction des Oeuvres, Alençon, Orne, 1956; cf. also the survey along similar lines of the diocese of Coutances, *Sociologie et Pastorale*, Editions Notre Dame, Coutances, 1957.

¹⁶ cf. the studies of F. Goguel: *Géographie des Elections Françaises de 1870 à 1951*, and (with G. Dupeux) *Sociologie Electorale: Guide de Recherches*; both are booklets of the 'Fondation des Sciences Politiques,' nos. 27 and 26 respectively. Boulard: *ibid.* p. 69, quotes this opinion of M. Goguel: 'It remains true on the whole that the religious map has more affinities with political maps than with maps of social structure or of land tenure. But these correlations do not prove the existence of a chain of cause and effect, since they could as well be the results of the same causes at work in both the religious and the political field.'

¹⁷ Boulard: *ibid.* p. 50.

¹⁸ cf. the brief account of regional differences on either side of the Franco-Belgian frontier in Boulard; *ibid.* pp. 76-79.

¹⁹ M. Quoist: *La Ville et l'Homme*, Editions Ouvrières, Paris, 1952, a study of a working class district of Rouen; S. Ligier: *L'Adulter des Milieux Ouvrières*, vol. 1, *Essai de Psychologie Sociale*, vol. 2, *Essai de Psychologie Pastorale*, Editions Ouvrières, 1951, (said to underestimate Marxist influence on working class mentality, but otherwise an exhaustive analysis); P. Schmitt-Elgin: *Le Mécanisme de la Déchristianisation*, Alsatia, Paris, 1952, a study of the influence of a town on a village.

²⁰ Editions Spes, Paris, 1956.

²¹ cf. Boulard: *ibid.* p. 71.

The overall figures are interesting:

Marseilles	...	13%	census 1953,
Paris	...	14%	" 1954,
Toulouse	...	15%	" 1953,
Lyons	...	21%	" 1954,
Nancy	...	26%	
St. Etienne	...	28%	

These are 2 sets of typical occupation figures:

	Industrial Workers	Artisans, Tradesmen	Clerks	Professional men, managers
Marseilles	3%	6%	8%	23%
Lyons	5.2%	8.2%	17%	29%

These are percentages of each occupation.

²² J. Labbans has a useful account of the organisation and analysis of a census in his *Les 99 Autres . . . ou L'Eglise aussi Recense*, Ed. Vitte, Lyons, 1954.

²³ Ed. Ouvrières, Paris, 1954.

The age and sex analysis of the Marseilles census are revealing and fairly typical:

Age:	Percentages per age group of those attending mass on the day of the census:	7-14, 33%
		14-25, 13%
		25-50, 7%
		50-60, 11%
		60 & over, 15%

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Sex: For every 100 women attending mass there were the following numbers of men:

Age Group	middle	in a	
		class deanery	working class deanery
0-14	...	76	78
14-20	...	58	55
20-25	...	52	33
25-30	...	60	82
30-35	...	53	64
35-40	...	53	70
40-50	...	50	29
50-60	...	43	28
60 and over	...	39	24

²⁴ Mme. J. Perrot: *Grenoble, Essai de Sociologie Religieuse*, from the Centre d'Etudes des Complexes Sociaux, 2, rue Jean Macé, Grenoble, 1953.

²⁵ La Pensée Catholique, Brussels, 1955.

Size of Parishes:

In 1900 the average population of parishes in Paris was 36,000

	Vienna	21,200
	Budapest	27,990
1955	Paris	30,000
	Rome	12,000
	Brussels	12,000

In South America, Montevideo had an average size of 44,000 in 1909
and 25,000 in 1955,
Sao Paulo 28,000 in 1939
and 22,000 in 1955.

Working class parishes were almost always above average. In Vienna in 1889 8 out of 19 parishes had over 40,000 and these were all working class. Paris in 1906 had one working class parish of 75,000, another of 90,000 and a third of 121,000 (cf. Houtart, pp. 13-15). A summary of studies of French and other towns is to be found in Vol. 2 of Le Bras' collected works, *Etudes de Sociologie Religieuse*.

²⁶ J. Kerkhofs: *Godsdienstpraktijk en Sociaal Milieu*, Lumen Vitae, Brussels, 1954.

²⁷ Editions du Cerf, Paris, 1950.

²⁸ cf. Boulard: *Premiers Itinéraires en Sociologie Religieuse*, ch. 3 and appendix I, and ch. 7, pp. 124-128, and Le Bras: *Etudes de Sociologie Religieuse*.

²⁹ e.g. *Le Protestant Français*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1953. He has also produced a map of French Protestantism, *ibid.* pp 96-97. The map also appears in Le Bras: *Etudes de Sociologie Religieuse*, vol. 1, p. 325.

³⁰ Boulard: *op. cit.*, pp. 92-96.

³¹ *Ibid.* appendix 3.

³² Pp. 3-4.

³³ *Sociologie Religieuse Sciences Sociales*, cf. note 1, is the official report. This was the 4th International conference; the report of the 5th held in 1956 appeared in 1958.

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³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

³⁵ Le Bras remarks: 'There is a great variety of causes; one cannot be too careful nor too sensitive in discriminating them. Much more care is needed to explain figures than to collect them.' *Etudes de Sociologie Religieuse*, vol. 1, p. 14.

³⁶ *Report on Religious Worship (England and Wales)*, C. 1690. The report, based on the census tables, was written by Horace Mann.

³⁷ *Religion in London*, statistics of church and chapel accommodation in 1865: an article reprinted from the *British Quarterly Review*, No. 85, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1866.

³⁸ *The Religious Census of London* reprinted from the *British Weekly*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1888, contains the results of the census conducted by the *British Weekly* on Oct. 24th, 1886.

³⁹ Ed. R. Mudie-Smith: *The Religious Life of London*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1904, contains the results of a census conducted by the *Daily News* from Nov. 1902 to Nov. 1903, in all London churches.

⁴⁰ *Life and Labour of the People in London*, 3rd series, Religious Influences, 8 vols. Macmillan, London, 1902.

⁴¹ For example, in the Church of England the Statistical Unit of the Central Board of Finance of the Church Assembly and in the Roman Catholic Church the Newman Demographic Survey. There are also various individual pieces of work, to which N. Birnbaum refers in an article, 'La Sociologie de la Religion en Grand-Bretagne,' contributed to *Archives de Sociologie des Religions*, July-September, 1956, No. 2. The most notable of these is Canon E. R. Wickham's *Church and People in an Industrial City*, Lutterworth, London, 1957, a sociologico-historical study of religion in Sheffield with wider implications for the mission of the Church in industrial society.

⁴² *The Family in Contemporary Society*, L.C. 1958-6, S.P.C.K., London, 1958, p. 23.

⁴³ *Theory of Social and Economic Organisation*, Hodge, 1947, p. 80.

EMPLOYMENT AND THE JOURNEY TO WORK IN AN OVERSPILL COMMUNITY

H. B. Rodgers

One of the most substantial achievements of post-war planning has been the orderly transfer of population from the congested central areas of our great cities and conurbations to new and pleasanter environments on or beyond the fringe of urban development. It is now axiomatic that these transplants of population must be accompanied by the dispersal of industry from central locations if the new, outlying communities are to be saved a tedious and expensive journey to work. In the New Towns this has been achieved with varying success, but the more numerous schemes of short-range, small-scale dispersal have rarely attracted new employment to an adequate degree. These transfers are governed by the Town Development Act of 1952 which—unlike the New Towns Act—gave to communities expanding through the absorption of overspill no special status in the attraction of industry. They must compete with each other and—on unfavourable terms—with the New Towns, the Development Areas, and now with the recently scheduled districts of high unemployment to catch what they can.

This study is an analysis of the problems of employment in a typical overspill community. It is essentially a case-study, but it is hoped that its conclusions may be of wider than local interest. Its chief theme, throughout, is that to secure the effective integration of industrial re-location with population transfer is a task of very great difficulty, in which it would be unrealistic to expect complete success. This is not simply a quantitative problem: there is no solution merely in estimating the number of jobs that the new community is likely to need, and then attempting to guide an equivalent volume of new employment into the area. Any population contains a most complex mixture of skills, experience, ability and ambitions: it has its characteristic occupational struc-

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ture, which may fit neither the type of work available in existing local industry nor the special demands of the new enterprises brought in to provide employment nearby. It is quite impossible to reserve the work offered by these new factories for the overspill community, which will inevitably face competition from the 'indigenous' population, especially in areas of industrial difficulty like South Lancashire. Moreover, the real volume of new employment generated by the transfer of industry to an overspill site may fall far below expectations if the immigrant firms have moved only a short distance and are thus able to persuade their established workpeople to travel daily to the new factories. These and other related factors clearly govern the success of any attempt to 'bring the factories out with the people' to the brave—but perhaps workless—new estates.

The Salford-Worsley Scheme.

Though Salford is separated from Manchester by nothing more substantial than the half-canalised ditch of the River Irwell, it has long maintained a lively but increasingly illogical independence. Not the least significant consequence of this is that the city must solve its present acute problems of re-development largely in isolation. In Salford the need for civic reconstruction stems from the gross congestion of both housing and industry within a small, compact and over-developed administrative area. In the early 19th century the town's factories became concentrated into cramped linear zones along the canals, the railways and the river, while the spaces between were quickly filled by the closely-packed terraces of tiny artisan housing. This pattern of land-use has remained virtually unaltered for almost a century; so has much of the fabric of the city, for over half its houses have now stood for more than a hundred years. It is not surprising that population densities in Salford are among the highest in the country. In 1951 seven of the sixteen wards had gross densities of more than 50 persons to the acre, with a maximum—in two cases—of 87. Discounting land in industrial use the residential density in the worst of the wards was in excess of 140 to the acre, though even this was much reduced, by slum clearance and voluntary migration, from a value of 240 per acre in 1921.¹

Few cities in Great Britain, except those with a tradition of flat and tenement life, are as crowded as this one; and few have so

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little space available for rehousing, for Salford had come almost to the end of its resources of land by 1939. Unlike Manchester, it was never able to find even a partial and temporary solution to its housing problem through boundary extension. It was geographically impossible for it to acquire a Wythenshawe—the rural area in North Cheshire incorporated by Manchester in 1930 chiefly for municipal housing—for it is surrounded by congested industrial towns almost as fully developed as it is itself.² The city cannot possibly meet its housing needs within its own boundaries—though its tall blocks of flats represent a bold attempt to do so—and it is only by the transfer of surplus population to other and less congested administrative areas that the wretched conditions in which so many of its citizens are compelled to live may be improved.

Estimates of the size of this overspill of population have varied from time to time in the past. In 1950 it was thought that a total of 40,000 persons would be involved, but continuous rapid emigration and the decision of the city to build flats at comparatively high densities have substantially reduced this figure. There are now no firm plans for the further transfer of population after the movement of 16,750 persons to Worsley is complete. Naturally, it has been to the Lancashire County Authority that the city has turned for help in rehousing, for the nearest areas of open land are in county districts on the western edge of the conurbation. Of these the Urban District of Worsley was chosen as the reception area, at least during the first phase of overspill. (See fig. 1.) The plan called for the building of four neighbourhood units on the western outskirts of the mining town of Walkden, the nucleus of the Urban District. A scheme on this scale was clearly beyond the capacity of a small authority, so that the County undertook to give all possible assistance—especially with technical problems—in its implementation. The project directly inspired the Town Development Act of 1952, the provisions of which have since governed it.

The Prospects for Local Employment.

It would be impossible to argue—at least from an industrial point of view—that Worsley was an ideal choice for the reception of a large new population. The town is essentially part of the 'coal-and-cotton' region of South-central Lancashire, the economy of which has rested traditionally on the twin—and once secure—

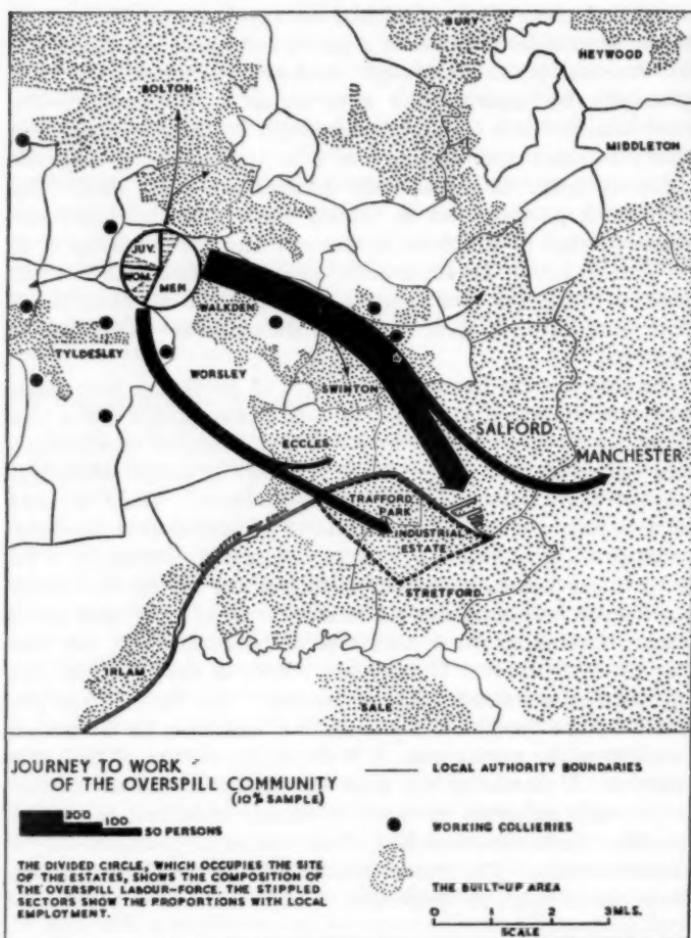


Fig. 1.

The Worsley Site and the Journey to Work. The peripheral location of the Worsley scheme is clear. Though the map suggests that overspill might be accommodated nearer to Salford, most of the open land here is semi-derelict and penetrated by industry. Fortunately, for most of the employed community of the estates must seek its living elsewhere, the journey to work is over comparatively short ranges.

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foundations of the mill and the pit. Industrial over-specialisation is extreme throughout this area: for example in Little Hulton—now part of Worsley Urban District and the focus of the overspill estates—48% of the employed men were miners and 70% of the employed women textile workers in 1931. The range of work available remains very narrow despite the industrial changes of the last quarter-century. Engineering and the metal trades have made only feeble progress on the coalfield, and in the small mining communities of the region the volume of work provided by distribution and the service industries is very slight. But the fundamental problem of this part of Lancashire is that both the basic industries are in decline. Depletion of the reserves and the high cost of operations have led to the progressive contraction of coal-mining, while Asian competition—now in home as well as export markets—has forced the cotton industry into a decline which is clearly far from complete.

Fortunately, Worsley has felt the effects of depression and decline much less severely than most of its neighbours on the South Lancashire coalfield. Indeed, the pits in this area of concealed reserves now employ more men than they did thirty years ago, while the numbers employed in textile manufacture contracted by only 7% between 1931 and 1951. Moreover, the town acquired a substantial new industry during the period, for clothing manufacture—in two large factories owned by a firm of multiple tailors—now employs a larger labour-force than the cotton mills. Thus the total volume of work available in the town has grown appreciably since 1931, though its variety—for men at least—has been little increased. Of the insured men working in Worsley in 1951 half were miners³ and of the women three-quarters were textile or clothing operatives.⁴ Clearly, if the new community of overspill families were to seek work in the existing local industries only a narrow range of opportunities would be open to it. But another factor complicates the economic life of Worsley. Since the town's traditional industries have proved more resilient than those of many of its neighbours on the coalfield it has become a focus of employment for less fortunate communities which have lost the mills and pits by which they lived. Thus in 1951 51% of the population at work in Worsley was resident beyond its boundaries and travelled daily, chiefly from the north and west, from places as far distant as Bolton and Wigan. Clearly, if overspill workers suc-

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ceeded in displacing this 'imported' labour to any significant degree the consequences would be felt in higher unemployment in many towns which have suffered industrial difficulties for more than a quarter of a century.

Perhaps mercifully, the new population of Worsley has met little success in finding work in the established local industries: the results both of a social survey⁵ and of enquiries made at the town's factories agree closely on this point. None of the three basic industries has expanded significantly since 1950, and none has been prepared to train 'raw' labour on any substantial scale. Employment in mining has grown slightly, but the increase has been largely through the transfer of experienced men from old, exhausted collieries in the declining mining districts to the north and west. Thus in the sample of the overspill community analysed in the social survey only 5% of the men had taken jobs in the local mining industry since coming to Worsley. The textile mills in the town have encountered increasing difficulties since 1952: their demand for labour—long unsatisfied—is now falling quickly, and it is not surprising that in the mills visited, at the highest, only one in twenty of the workpeople were from overspill families. Though 9% of the women in the surveyed sample were textile workers most still travel daily to their old jobs in Salford. Only the clothing industry has made any notable contribution to the employment of overspill workers, though it has a predominantly female labour-force. Of the employed women in the sample families, 30% are clothing workers; and of these roughly one quarter have local work. There is no doubt that Worsley's clothing factories have come under very strong pressure from overspill women; many hundreds of applications for work have been received but very few have been successful. This may seem surprising, for the rate of labour-turnover is high in this trade, especially when—as here—many workers travel from a considerable distance. And many Salford women have experience in this industry. But the dominant clothing firm in Worsley has a very selective recruitment policy; it will not normally re-train women whose only experience is in rain-wear manufacture (the chief trade in Salford) nor does it employ much part-time or semi-casual labour. Broadly speaking, it seems clear that the clothing industry will continue to take large numbers of girls leaving school on the overspill estates, but its contribution to the employment of adults—especially married women seeking part-time

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work—will continue to be slight.

Since it was realised from the outset of the scheme that local factories were unlikely to absorb much overspill labour, great importance has been attached to the attraction of new industry to Worsley; indeed there has been an attempt to decant industry as well as population from the congested districts of Central Salford. There are, of course, no powers except those of persuasion to accomplish this, but there is growing recognition among industrialists that cramped sites in the core of the conurbation may be as unsuitable an environment for industry as for people. But there is keen competition among local authorities to attract firms considering a move to the outskirts. Moreover, the Manchester region is one of industrial difficulty: old manufactures are declining and new ones are not growing quickly enough to replace the lost employment. In fact, on a regional scale, there is inadequate industrial expansion in progress. Against this background, Worsley has done well to secure a significant addition to its industrial employment, so much that the reserve of land available for factory building is now almost exhausted.

Of the 10 'immigrant' firms which have built factories in Worsley since 1951 most are in branches of industry quite new to the district. Seven are concerned with engineering, metal-working and the manufacture of industrial gases: these now provide a total of more than 1,800 jobs—chiefly for men—in exactly the trades which were so feebly developed in the area previously. Outside the engineering group the most significant development has been the construction of a factory for the manufacture of soft-drinks, a valuable addition to the range of female work available. Together with slight growth in some of the existing industries and service trades this expansion has resulted in an increase of about 3,000 in total employment in the Urban District since 1951. Indeed, for a time the growth of employment exceeded the growth of working population on the overspill estates, but for the last two years this trend has been reversed.⁶

To assume that all—or even most—of this additional employment has been taken up by overspill tenants would be most misleading. Experience elsewhere in the conurbation suggests that as little as one-third of the work created by new factories in peripheral locations may go to local residents; in Worsley the proportion appears to be even lower than this. Much depends on the origins

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of the new firms and on the type of labour required by them. Companies which have moved from districts nearby, particularly from Salford, have often brought much of their old labour with them and have arranged special bus services to make this possible. In any case, many of their established workpeople live in the suburbs west of Salford and thus within easy range of Worsley. Two typical firms brought three-quarters of their labour with them, and therefore provide little work to the overspill community. In contrast, a company from Trafford Park, where most of its labour came from South Manchester, has experienced quick turnover among its workers since the transfer, and it has genuinely extended the range of work available in Worsley. Another enterprise quite new to the North-West has a staff recruited entirely from the local, and largely from the overspill population. The level of skill demanded by the new firms has also affected their employment of overspill labour. One company dealt with roughly 1,000 applications for work during a recent year, including many from Salford immigrants: it was able to appoint 12 of these applicants to the specialised vacancies which had arisen. In contrast, another firm can quickly train any applicant who presents herself, and this factory is now staffed largely from the estates. But in every case competition from the established populations of Worsley and other towns nearby has kept many overspill tenants out of local jobs. This is demonstrated clearly by the experience of an expanding company which brought little old labour to its new factory. Though 88% of its workpeople were recruited locally only 21% are from homes on the estates.

The results of the social survey strongly reinforced the impression derived from factory visits that simply to 'bring the industry out with the people' is no guarantee that local employment will in fact be generated for the new population. Of the men in the sample only 2.5% actually came to Worsley with an immigrant firm. Despite the recent growth of engineering in the area only 15% of the men occupied in this group of trades have found local work. These are disappointing figures, and they lead to a conclusion which may seem at first to be paradoxical. It is that in a short-range dispersal scheme of this character a much higher volume of truly effective new employment will be created if the immigrant firms are attracted from a considerable distance rather than from towns close by. In prospect it seemed rational to attempt

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to bring industry from Salford hand-in-hand with the transfer of families: in reality these firms have not moved far enough to lose much of their old labour and thus their local recruitment has been on a small scale, though clearly, in time, they are likely to become better integrated with the overspill scheme. But it must be admitted that, in practice and particularly in Lancashire, a planning authority must be grateful for any enterprise which it succeeds in attracting to an overspill site. Ideally, it would wish to apply some process of selection not only to industry but—on an occupational basis—to tenants too.

So far in this study the migration of industry to Worsley has been considered simply from the point of view of its contribution to the employment of the overspill community. It is clearly just as necessary to understand the reactions of the immigrant firms to their new environment, for if they experience serious technical difficulties other companies may be more reluctant to make the experiment of transfer to a peripheral site. None of the firms now established in the town came here from motives of social altruism; they chose their new sites carefully because they offered sound commercial advantages. Among the dominant factors were the availability of empty mill premises and prepared factory sites, chiefly on a small industrial estate.¹ Other significant factors were Worsley's good road communications and its easy access to the greater part of the industrial North West, for it is crossed by the main Liverpool and Preston roads and it lies north of that enormous obstacle to road travel—the Manchester Ship Canal.² Surprisingly, only one firm was influenced much, in its choice of Worsley, by the prospect of easy labour recruitment from the overspill population. Most of the others, especially those from Salford, were swayed rather by the prospect that, in a new factory at Worsley, they could keep their old staff together. Few companies have had any serious difficulty in settling down here, though some believe that local labour, both indigenous and overspill, is slow to adapt itself. Among other, lesser complaints are the poor condition of some roads, the poverty of public transport services and, in some cases, the prohibition of direct main-road access to factory sites. Certainly, some firms would have welcomed the allocation to them of a larger number of tenancies on the estates for the accommodation of key-workers. So few were offered that many old hands who want to bring their families to the town must take their chance

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in the housing exchange market.

The Present Problems.

From the survey above it is clear that the attempt to provide local employment for the overspill community has been less than successful; indeed, given the circumstances and concept of the scheme the outcome could scarcely have been otherwise. In bald statistics, only 19% of the 393 wage-earners covered by the social survey work within the Urban District, and a further 6% have jobs within immediately adjacent areas. Over half (56%) still make the daily journey to Manchester or Salford, while 13% work rather closer to their homes, in Trafford Park. Husbands have been less successful than wives in finding local work and—most unfortunately—children have been least successful of all. Forty-four per cent. of the wives, 25% of the husbands and only 17% of the children of working age have jobs in the town or in districts nearby. This last figure represents the most serious present and potential problem of the new community.

In the case of the heads of families it would be wrong to take too pessimistic a view of the failure of local industry to yield much work. The journey to Salford takes about 30 minutes² and costs a little over two shillings return. This is not excessive by the standards of the Manchester Conurbation, in which the growth of a highly specialised engineering industry has greatly increased the mobility of labour, for the higher a man's skill, the less chance he has of finding work near home. In Worsley the least skilled men have found it much easier to get local work than the highly skilled; thus the average weekly wage of those who travel out daily is higher by roughly 50 shillings than that of those who do not. It could scarcely be expected that many men would wish to leave distant jobs in which they are well-established for local work at lower wages. Nevertheless, the move to Worsley has engendered a degree of restlessness among the men of the new community. About one-third have changed their jobs since leaving Salford and another 17% wish to do so. There is clear evidence that men are prepared to change their occupations—though rarely if they possess an industrial skill—in order to find work nearer home, for of those in local work 45% appear to have taken up trades which are new to them.

The chief wage-earners are the group most seriously affected by

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the total lack of harmony—illustrated in Table I—between the industrial structure of the Worsley district and the occupational experience of the overspill population. Of these men 30.5% are in the engineering group of occupations and 17.5% in transport and distribution. Only 15% of the former and 12% of the latter have succeeded in finding work with local firms, a clear consequence of the feeble development of these industries in the town. The staple industries of the area are precisely those in which few of the men from Salford have any experience: only 7% are miners, 2% textile workers and 7% in the building trades, and though many of these have found local work, the effect on the general employment situation is slight. The conclusion is inescapable that only if the occupations of overspill tenants are taken into account in their selection can any useful measure of absorption into local industry take place.

Superficially, at least, working wives appear to have found local employment more readily than their husbands, and a glance at Table I would suggest that this is because there is a greater harmony between the range of female work available in the area and the occupational experience of the overspill women. But this apparent correspondence proves on closer inspection to be in part misleading, and in reality the absorption of married women into local work has made slighter progress than it seems to have done, for there is concealed unemployment among them. Two occupational groups contain the majority of employed wives; the clothing trades and the miscellaneous services. Women in the former would seem to have an excellent chance of entering the town's tailoring factories, but—as explained earlier—few have precisely the skill required. Though 47% of these clothing operatives have changed their place of work since their arrival in Worsley—almost invariably to reduce their daily journey—only half of these have found places in the local industry. Most of the rest still travel to Salford, to small rain-wear and dress-making firms where their hours of work are often arranged to suit their domestic responsibilities. Similarly, the large group of wives in the miscellaneous service occupations have found local opportunities scarce. Most of these can undertake only simple, semi-domestic work for a few hours a day—as waitresses and office-cleaners, for example—but this is a type of employment generated by a large city rather than by a small town. Thus they must travel to Manchester or Salford,

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Table I. Insured Employment in Worsley in comparison with the Occupations of the Employed Men and Women in the Owerspill Community, 1958

	Men		Women	
	Insured male employment (% of total)	Occupations of overspill men (% of total employed)	Proportion with local work (% for each industrial group)	Occupations of overspill women (% of total employed)
Mining	54.4	7.2	8.2	3.9
Chemical	5.1	10.0	17	6.1
Metals	1.8	2.5	4.0	/
Engineering	6.1	30.5	15	4.0
Vehicles	5.1	1.9	33	/
Textiles	5.0	1.9	17	22.5
Clothing	4.6	1.9	38.0	9.0
Food and Drink	4.4	5.3	17	7.0
Building	6.6	7.2	39	1
Utilities	3.1	1.2	0	/
Transport	6.6	10.5	9	2.0
Distribution	2.3	7.0	18	9.0
Administration and Professions	3.4	4.3	7	6.0
Miscellaneous	1.5	8.6	10	28.1

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and fares consume much of the small wage. This is the dilemma of many working wives at Worsley: because of the higher cost of living on the new estates they feel compelled to make some contribution to the family income, but the net wage from a distant part-time job is so slight that it scarcely justifies the effort involved.

There can be no doubt that the transfer to Worsley has caused a serious degree of difficulty and even hardship among the employed wives of the new community. There has been keener competition among them than among their husbands for the limited volume of local work; two-thirds have changed their jobs since their arrival in the hope of finding local opportunities. Many have succeeded, but among those who have failed is a substantial proportion which is not prepared to travel out of the district each day. These remain unemployed, and they have been joined in the search for vacancies close to the estates by women who had not worked while they lived in Salford, but who now find it necessary to augment the family income. Thus the overspill population contains a surplus of female labour, most of it available only for simple, unskilled part-time tasks. In the 250 families interviewed there were 75 wives at work and a further 34 who were looking for suitable local employment. As the overspill movement continues, and as young families grow up, the demand for work for married women must grow quickly, but there is little prospect that it can be fully satisfied in or near the Urban District.

Serious though the problems of employment for adult men and women are, there is not the least doubt that the weakest element in the industrial structure of Worsley is the very narrow range of opportunities it offers to boys and girls leaving school. Even today there is little choice beyond the mill, the mine and the clothing factory. Of these the first has a limited appeal—and a reduced demand—for obvious reasons. Mining is still something of a family vocation—and there are few such families on the estates—while the clothing industry takes few boys and appeals chiefly to girls not in the highest intelligence ranges. Despite the quick growth of engineering, it clearly cannot find places for all the mechanically-minded boys who will seek to enter it; and juveniles looking for office employment are unlikely to find it nearer than Bolton or Manchester. Unfortunately, the most able are likely to be forced into the longest journeys to work, for though simple repetitive work is available nearby, especially for girls, more

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demanding positions with better prospects for progress are quite inadequate to meet the demand. It is relevant to consider, too, that the middle-class of the next generation is recruited in part from the working-class of the last; thus many of the ablest children of overspill families, having acquired higher educational qualifications, will clearly be much more selective than their parents in their choice of work, and they are bound to seek it further afield.

The social survey revealed with great clarity that juvenile employment is insufficient at the moment, and it must surely become grossly inadequate in the future. Of the working children in the sample, four-fifths must make a daily journey to Manchester, Salford or Trafford Park. Yet at present the demand for juvenile employment is running at a comparatively low level. Only 6.7% of the overspill population is in the 15-19 age group, while the groups from 5 to 14 contain almost 30%, roughly twice the national average proportion.¹⁰ A vast flood of juvenile labour must inevitably come on to the local employment market in the next decade; as a speculative but conservative estimate, the overspill community alone will produce perhaps between 4,000 and 5,000 school-leavers over this period. Only a small and not over-selective minority can expect to secure local work. The rest must travel, wasting leisure and money, but no act of planning can possibly prevent it. The children of the overspill community must pay a higher price than their parents for the pleasanter living conditions of the new estates. Yet it is fortunate that the scheme was not sited further to the west and out of touch with Manchester, for it would have been tragic to have left such large numbers of children to scramble for places in the archaic, declining coal-and-cotton economy.

Conclusions.

The building of a new community at Worsley—though still only half-complete—has been a social experiment on a very considerable scale, an experiment in which it would have been unrealistic to expect perfect success. Inevitably if perhaps uncharitably, far greater attention has been paid, in this interim account of the project, to its weaknesses than to its very substantial achievements. The latter are self-evident to anyone who makes the journey from the rotting slums of Salford to these attractive estates, adapted with skill to the aesthetically unpromising setting of the coalfield. The

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first aim of the scheme was to provide replacement housing, and this it has done. That employment was not generated in adequate measure alongside the estates cannot be surprising, for it was from the first quite impossible. Indeed, given the circumstances and concept of the scheme, it is perhaps remarkable that as many as one-fifth of its workers have found local jobs.

The location of this overspill project is the essential key to its character. It is clearly an example of peripheral expansion so close to the core of the conurbation and so closely linked to it that it must remain a dependant community little different from the other suburbs of the outer fringe. Neither the firms nor the families who have come out from Salford have moved far enough to have had complete re-orientation forced on them. The working population of the estates finds no difficulty amounting to more than inconvenience in keeping its old, central employment: the immigrant companies have had little trouble in holding their established labour-force together. In essence, both firms and families have simply been re-housed; had both been persuaded to move perhaps five miles further west, they could scarcely have avoided being forced into a much closer relationship with each other.

But a 'Worsley' far beyond the edge of the conurbation and thus out of effective contact with it would encounter even more serious problems than those which have, in fact, revealed themselves over the last decade. Both employed wives and children of working age would have found their present difficulties much less easily soluble if they were out of easy travelling range of Manchester or some comparable centre. Firms from the centre of the conurbation may well have rejected a transfer to so distant a site; in fact, at least one decided against moving even to Worsley because it risked losing most of its established staff. Moreover, any new factories built among the declining mining and textile towns of the exhausted coalfield would come under very strong pressure—perhaps even greater than at Worsley—from communities which have for thirty years been hungry for new industries to replace declining trades. Nor is this problem peculiar to the areas west of the periphery of the conurbation; to the north, east and south-east are textile districts in which an overspill scheme associated with industrial dispersal would meet the same difficulty.

The absorption of overspill in piecemeal schemes of peripheral expansion of the type of Worsley may seem unimaginative and

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untidy, but in an economic sense it is comparatively safe. Industry from the centre of the conurbation is clearly willing to move to the edge, but it may not be prepared to go beyond. Thus some measure of local employment may be guaranteed to the population of a peripheral estate, and for the high proportion of its workers which cannot find—or does not want—local employment, the centre of the conurbation is not prohibitively distant. Overspill over a longer range sets greater problems and demands closer control. The community transferred must be carefully matched to the employment available near the site, both in existing and new industry. Its age structure, too, must be strictly controlled, for any heavy weighting in the lower age-groups, with a consequent glut of school-leavers over a short period, might produce real juvenile unemployment if there were not some large city within easy range to absorb the surplus. Such rigid selection would be bound to be unpopular to any 'exporting' authority, for to construct the right community would mean reaching far down the housing waiting-list, ignoring many hard cases. But if we are convinced that our cities have become so big and so congested that they need partial dismantling only a radical approach is likely to offer a solution to the enormously complex problems involved.

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¹ These residential densities were calculated by isolating and measuring, on an urban land-use map, the areas used chiefly for housing, though they contain shops, waste ground and some small-scale, scattered industry. On the land actually under houses only, the density in one of the most congested wards was 215 persons per acre in 1951.

² In 1946 Salford attempted to follow Manchester in finding a solution to the re-housing problem through boundary extension. The city then proposed to the Boundary Commission that it should absorb Worsley. But this would have involved, also, the absorption of the two intervening municipal boroughs, Swinton and Pendlebury, and Eccles.

³ Conflicting statistics are not the least of an enquirer's problems in a study of this type, for the industrial tables of the 1951 Census put the total of miners in Worsley at 2,533, while Ministry of Labour data show it as 4,569. In fact, the pits within or just beyond the boundary of the urban district employed roughly 5,600 men in 1951. This is the realistic total; adopting it, the proportion of work for men provided by mining was roughly 51%.

⁴ This is an approximate proportion. Census and Ministry data agree closely on the number of women clothing workers employed in Worsley, but disagree violently on the number in textiles. Together, textiles and clothing employed 68% of the employed women in the census tabulation but 78% in the Ministry's returns.

Employment and the Journey to Work in an Overspill Community

⁵ In this study of the Worsley overspill scheme there was close collaboration between Mr. J. B. Cullingworth (of the Department of Social Administration, the University of Manchester) and the present author. The former was concerned chiefly with the administrative and social aspects of the project and the latter with the industrial background and problems. The social survey was carried out under the direction of Mr. Cullingworth though the present author was responsible for framing the occupational questions and analysing the replies. In this door-to-door survey interviewers completed a questionnaire of more than 60 items for each chosen family. The 250 families thus surveyed form a 10% sample of the overspill community, graded by size of house so as to yield a representative cross-section. Quite separately from this a survey was made of almost all the larger factories in the town, and either by interview or by correspondence a questionnaire—dealing chiefly with labour supply—was completed by all of these companies.

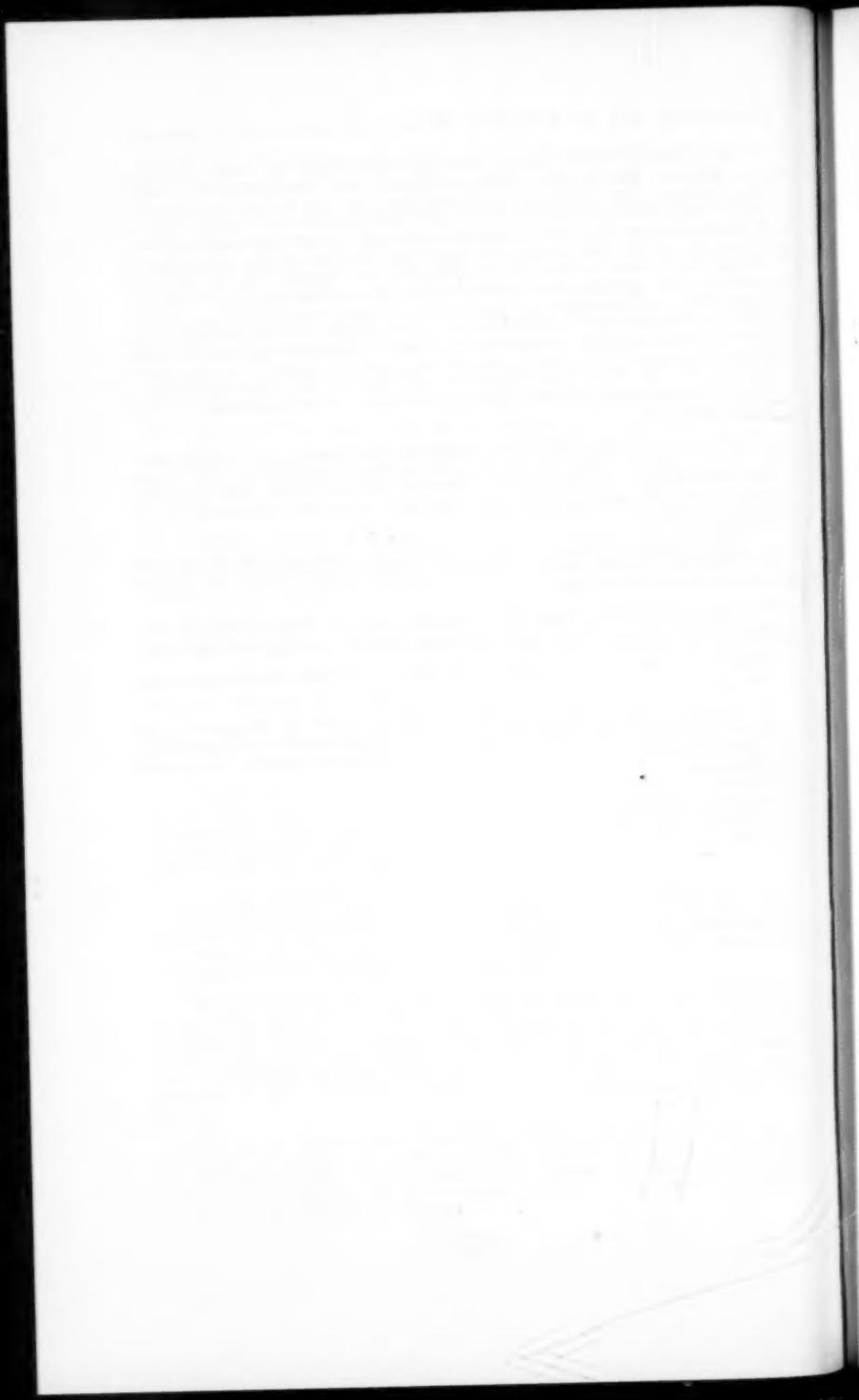
⁶ Between 1951 and 1956 the volume of employment in Worsley grew by roughly 3,000, while the growth of working population on the estates can scarcely have exceeded 2,000. Over the last two years there has been faster growth of working population, but the volume of work available has declined by 2.5%.

⁷ The Lancashire County Planning Department has had, for many years, an industrial bureau which provides a most useful service in helping industrialists with site-selection.

⁸ The Ship Canal is soon to be crossed, south of Worsley, by the first of its bridges in the Manchester area not designed for horse-drawn traffic.

⁹ But 40% of the men spend more than 45 minutes in reaching their work each morning.

¹⁰ At Langley and Kirkby, overspill schemes north of Manchester and east of Liverpool respectively, there is an even greater lack of age-balance in the community, and thus a more serious prospective problem of juvenile employment.



WEST GERMAN CITY RECONSTRUCTION : TWO CASE STUDIES

E. Thomas Greene

City reconstruction in Western Germany since the war has had varying results. Some cities have been able to reconstruct in face of great financial difficulties; others have let many opportunities afforded by the destruction slip by. In this paper we shall compare two housing projects in postwar Germany: the Griechenmarktviertel in Cologne and the Holtenauer Strasse project in Kiel. Perhaps we shall then better understand why some projects in reconstruction failed—in terms of the objectives set by the planners themselves—and why other projects were brought to fruition.

The Griechenmarktviertel, the 'object of special attention of the reconstruction of Cologne,'¹ is a residential section in Cologne's *Altstadt*. It was selected as a test case of the reconstruction of Cologne by mutual consent of the City Council and the Building Department.

The Griechenmarktviertel was situated in the southwestern corner of Roman Cologne. Even at this time the section was densely settled. Its importance is attested by the fact that not far from the church of St. Cäcilia on the edge of the Griechenmarktviertel stood the first cathedral of Cologne. Many of the streets in this section follow the same course today that they did eighteen hundred years ago. In the late middle ages the importance of the borough declined, after the ecological centre of Cologne shifted to the surroundings of the present cathedral. New streets were cut in this section of Cologne in the nineteenth century, but this did not improve the economic and social position of the *Viertel*, which had become a slum.

Population in the *Viertel* increased steadily in the nineteenth century. In 1875 between 15,000 and 16,000 people lived in the area. By 1925 population in the *Viertel* had increased to 20,000.² Research of the *Statistisches Amt* indicates that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries until the *Viertel*'s destruction it functioned

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as a dormitory for a large share of the workers in the business section of Cologne.

The Griechenmarktviertel was totally destroyed during the war. A small number of people continued to live there in spite of very primitive housing in 1945. In 1946 there were at least 500 people and about 50 firms in the *Viertel*. In 1951 there were only 642 persons living in the *Viertel*.

Land was divided into incredibly small parcels in the *Viertel*. (Fig. 1). In the middle of 1951 over two thirds of the holdings in this section were less than 200 square metres in size. Of the approximately five hundred parcels under 150 square metres in size, 300 were shorter than 17.5 metres and about 190 had a street frontage of five metres or less. Individual persons held nearly 2/3 of the lots, but less than half the total area of the *Viertel*. So complicated a property arrangement would have taxed even a smoothly functioning organization for reassembling property. Energetic leadership and frequent personal contact of the leader with residents of the area would have been required to get so many property holders to co-operate in planning.

The first official mention of the Griechenmarktviertel seems to have been in 1948. The area was mentioned in a meeting of the City Council as a part of the city that should be cleared of slums in connection with its reconstruction. Although at this time no measures were taken to rebuild the section, even in 1948 the *Viertel* was looked on as a future test case of Cologne's reconstruction. On 23rd February, 1950, a CDU member of the City Council commented in a session of the Council that nothing more had been heard from the City Planning Officer since a number of areas to be rebuilt had been spotlighted in 1948.³ This remark helped wake up the administration to the importance of reconstructing the Griechenmarktviertel as an example to private builders. It made *Stadtbaudirektor* Rudolf Schwarz aware of the importance of planning in concrete terms, not simply in vague principles. It also put a bug in the ear of the SPD, which did not want to be outdone by the CDU.

Why did Cologne turn to the Griechenmarktviertel in 1950? The Council was looking for a section of the city that could be a symbol of Cologne's reconstruction. Such a project would, it was anticipated, give a push to the entire reconstruction process. The SPD wanted a pet project of its own. Schwarz wanted a test-case centred around a church. The creation of a unified residential district in the *Viertel*

West German City Reconstruction: Two Case Studies



● BUILDINGS EXTANT 1955

Fig 1. Köln. Griechenmarktviertel.

Source: Köln, Tiefbauamt, *Generalverkehrsplan der Stadt Köln* (Köln: n.n. 1956) p. 137.

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would, according to the disciples of Schwarz, be the first step toward the creation of community life centred on the churches of Cologne.

In November 1950, the SPD group in the Council wrote to the *Oberbürgermeister* urging the Council to approve a resolution concerning the reconstruction of a residential project in the *Viertel* in honour of the 1900th anniversary of the granting of municipal privileges to Cologne.⁴ On 23rd November the Council devoted considerable time to consideration of the *Viertel*. A member of the *Statistisches Amt* read a preliminary report of the history of the section. Dr. Braubach of the SPD outlined some of the difficulties connected with reconstruction in the *Altstadt*. In the same session of the Council, the *Oberbürgermeister* answered the letter from the SPD by announcing that the project would get under way before the end of 1950. He too recognized that the *Viertel* would be considered the test case of Cologne's reconstruction. Even as the project was starting, voices were heard claiming that there were no legal provisions for the consolidation of holdings on the books. The Reconstruction Law had been passed in June 1950, but already some people were looking for excuses to avoid politically unpopular action.

In 1951 four large building organizations of Cologne, all particularly interested in constructing necessary non-profit housing, founded a corporation to reconstruct the Griechenmarktviertel. The four member organizations subscribed the necessary capital for starting the reconstruction of this section.

Once it had been decided to begin the reconstruction of the Griechenmarktviertel, the question arose as to whether the area should have a new layout or whether the old street patterns should be followed. The City Council, abdicating leadership, thought it best to let the groups that were most interested in the reconstruction of the section decide. On the 10th December 1950, the Union of House and Property Owners made a public statement opposing any change in the street layout.⁵ Because of existing property lines, said the Union, old street lines should be followed in the reconstruction. The Council and the City Planning Office were so eager to have reconstruction begin that they did not oppose this statement. The Union of House and Property Owners meanwhile started negotiations in preparation for the reconstruction of the section. On the 18th January 1951, the newspapers in Cologne announced that the Union had successfully negotiated with 25 property-owners (of the 903 total !)

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who were willing to pool their holdings during reconstruction.

Rubble clearance was a necessary prelude to reconstruction. Acting on a directive from the City Planning Office, the Rubble Office cleared the *Viertel* of rubble in three and a half months. This task was completed by mid-April 1951.

Plans for most of the buildings in the Griechenmarktviertel, except for the ones left to the Union of House and Property Owners, were drawn up by the Housing Office. By the time the City Council met in February 1951 the final building-line plan⁶ had the full consent of the Union of House and Property Owners. The plan for two streets in the *Viertel*, Fleischmengergasse and Kleiner Griechenmarkt, was under consideration at this time. In June 1951 a model of this proposed block was put on exhibit in the City Hall. Twenty-three houses with 150 apartments were planned as the first stage of reconstruction. The city intended to finance this section, leaving immediate supervision of the operations to the Union of House and Property Owners.

Construction proceeded in the sanguine expectation that private land-owners would follow the city's example in the rest of the *Viertel*. Early in 1952 *Oberstadtdirektor* Dr. Suth admitted to City Council that the city desired to rebuild the entire section, but had been prevented from doing so for lack of funds. Commenting on the undertaking of the Union of House and Property Owners, Suth said that that group had become far less critical of city planning once it participated in it and realized some of the problems involved. In the summer of 1952 the newspapers commended the confidence and optimism of builders in the *Viertel*.

No sooner was the press optimistic than, toward the end of 1952, planning began to get bogged down. Since the City Planning Office made no official statements at this time, it had been up to the City Council to keep up popular interest in the project. The newspapers did not try to generate enthusiasm for the project; they simply stated what was happening. Prices of land had gone up since the first formulation of the plans. Building companies found it easier to build elsewhere, where property holdings were less complicated. Thus in the summer of 1953 it could rightly be said, 'the plan, broadly formulated and with effort concentrated on it, is already two years behind schedule.'

In 1954, shortly after its creation, the Cologne Municipal Replotting Committee took charge of consolidating holdings in the

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Griechenmarktviertel. That the committee was created four years after the start of the project indicates considerable loss of time. The City Planning Office had waited for the old property-owners to rebuild before finally waking up to the fact that without leadership they would not or could not. The City Council had set only the broadest lines of policy; thereafter the committees did most of the work. The Replotting Committee of the Council worked with the above-mentioned Cologne Municipal Replotting Committee to co-ordinate redrawing property lines with plans for the area. The City Planning Office too long naively imagined that private owners and building corporations would compete with one another for the benefit of the entire section. As it turned out, owners and corporations shunned the *Viertel* for areas that could be built with greater profit and with less trouble. Even the building corporation turned to other tasks because it did not want to get involved in time-consuming legal battles over property.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, in 1953 reconstruction in the *Viertel* supposedly got a new start. In May 1953 the Council passed detailed plans⁸ for several blocks in the Griechenmarktviertel. Actual reconstruction was held up as a hitherto forgotten section of Roman wall was discovered paralleling one of the streets in the area. In May 1953 city councillors sharply criticized the planning process.⁹ A member of the SPD commented that individual landowners were at an advantage because they could exact concessions from the building corporations before having their land in the *Viertel* built up. This session of the Council highlighted the lack of co-ordination between the city administration and the Council. A member of the CDU in the Council said, 'We are waiting for the City Planning Office to take on its share of responsibility in reconstructing the Griechenmarktviertel.'¹⁰ The discussion on 21st May ended with statements to the effect that building corporations as well as private builders were indispensable in Cologne. Apparently it had taken the Council three years to figure this out!

Planning and piecemeal reconstruction continued in disorganized fashion throughout 1954 and 1955. In April 1954 the Council approved some changes in a detailed plan which had been passed in 1953. Late in 1954 the Griechenmarktviertel lay deserted while the Cologne Municipal Replotting Committee prepared plans. The hope was expressed at this time that reconstruction could be completed by the end of 1955, five years from its start. Early in 1956,

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however, replotting was still under discussion. Finally, in February 1956, the *Oberstadtdirektor* announced that replotting had been completed and nearly all of the *Viertel* was ready for reconstruction.¹¹ In 1958 large areas of the *Viertel* were still empty. Considering the large amount of time over many years devoted to this project, it seems surprising that reconstruction has been so piecemeal. The city should have replotted holdings before reconstruction started at all. Schwarz always claimed that the hesitations of planning were due entirely to scarcity of funds. Yet the final cost of such piecemeal planning, without leadership, equalled if not exceeded the cost of prompt replotting followed by immediate reconstruction. *Stadtbaudirektor* Schwarz and his proteges took no more interest in this project than to make a few general statements. Their idea of rebuilding small houses on the old property lines did not work. After a number of half measures, the project stagnated and interest waned.

Having considered what was to be the test case of Cologne's reconstruction, let us turn to Kiel and to a not dissimilar housing project: the Holtenauer Strasse plan.¹² (Fig. 2a).

The Holtenauer Strasse project in Kiel has been cited in many articles as one of the most successful examples of consolidation of holdings to facilitate reconstruction in postwar Germany. How did planning this area start?

The Holtenauer Strasse area was built up in the nineteenth century, during the period of whirlwind expansion after Kiel had been declared one of the naval harbours of the *Reich*. This section of Kiel was totally destroyed by bombs in 1944. In May 1946 the City Planning Office presented to the Council the *Generalbebauungsplan*¹³ as the basis for future discussion on the reconstruction of this section. The *Generalbebauungsplan* included proposals for this part of Kiel, envisaging a widened Holtenauer Strasse, in the approximate width of the final reconstruction. A green belt cut through the project from west to east, encompassing all of the blocks between Mittel- and Teichstrasse and Christiani—and Annenstrasse. The early 1946 plan anticipated that old street lines and block forms would remain, and therefore did not propose that the green belt cut in a straight line through the area.

The contest for redesigning the *Innenstadt* in 1948 resulted in a number of important suggestions for the reconstruction of the Holtenauer Strasse area. Plans from the contest were digested into one, which the City Planning Office presented to the Building Com-



Fig. 2a.

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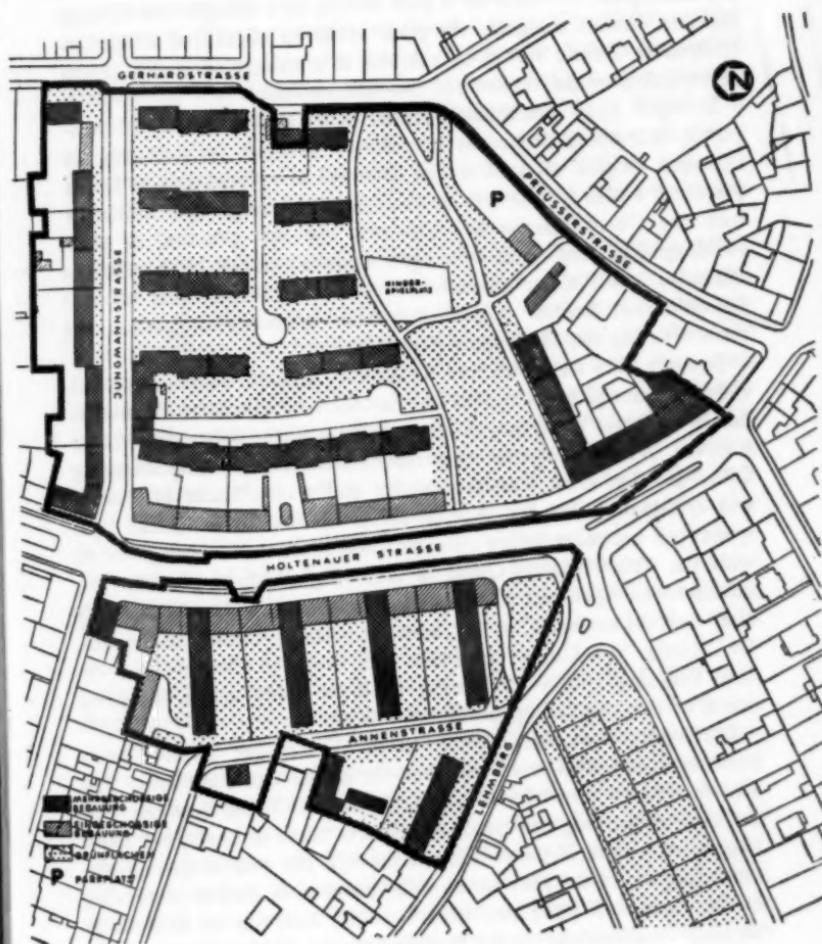


Fig. 2b.

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mittee in February 1949. This plan, in contrast with the *Generalbebauungsplan*, provided for a park cutting in a straight line through the area. Streets alongside the park would be eliminated altogether. Holtenauer Strasse would be relieved of considerable traffic, it was presumed, after the removal of two intersections.

In April 1949 *Stadtbaurat* Jensen came out in favour of completely reshuffling properties in order to facilitate reconstruction in this area, singled out as a special objective of reconstruction. Jensen presented a plan for the area on the 25th April 1949, in a conference with the *Oberbürgermeister*. This was the first proposal to place buildings from east to west at right angles to traffic, in an effort to minimize street noise distraction in this large apartment project. Jensen's plan became one of the most important suggestions in reconstructing the Holtenauer Strasse area.

Jensen's plan was presented to the City Council shortly after the above-mentioned conference with the *Oberbürgermeister*. Meanwhile one of the most important property holders in the area, whose name was not available, started negotiations between the City Planning Office and Dr. Hans Kersig, a banker and a civic leader in Kiel. It was anticipated that Dr. Kersig would be able to undertake legal spadework necessary before reconstruction could start. Kersig worked with the City Planning Office in preparing the final plan for this area between April and August 1949, a plan which was decided only after long discussions (Fig. 2b) between property owners in the area, Dr. Kersig, the Union of House and Property Owners, and the City Planning Office. Dr. Kersig must be given credit for doing much of the painstaking preliminary work.

In August 1949 the *Aufbauplan* for Holtenauer Strasse, incorporating suggestions from the previous plans, was completed. The area was to be zoned for business, shops, and living quarters. The decisions concerning the layout of the area seem to have been made largely by Jensen. A green belt cut through the area in the approximate location of the park in the 1949 proposal of Jensen. According to the completed plan, two streets on the east side of Holtenauer Strasse, Annenstrasse and Christianstrasse, disappeared. A long one-storey building was planned for shops along the east side of Holtenauer Strasse. Behind the stores were five-storey apartments parallel to the street. Owners that had formerly had land on the west side were to be compensated by new properties on the east side of Holtenauer Strasse.

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Once Jensen, Kersig, and architects in the City Planning Office were ready with this plan, it had to be submitted to the City Council for approval. The preparation of detailed plan (*Durchführungsplan 4*) for the area on the west side of Holtenauer Strasse proceeded immediately. The Building Committee approved the plan on the 26th September 1949. Members of the committee had been included in the negotiations of the preceding months, so this approval was a foregone conclusion. On the 17th November the Council approved this plan. By early April 1950, all property owners in the area having been satisfied, detailed plan 4 became law.

Perhaps the most notable feature of the Holtenauer Strasse project was the way the property lines were redrawn in preparing the land for actual building. Most of the necessary work was carried out after the plans had been negotiated and approved by the City Council. The Schleswig-Holstein Reconstruction Law was used, notably Articles 40-48 on the consolidation of holdings. Four unions (*Verbände*), each representing a segment of the total area for consolidation, were formed; these *Verbände* took over all property in the district and carried out the necessary consolidation. 'The land-owner's right in his property changed to the right of membership in the consolidation *Verband*.'¹⁴

Provisions of the Schleswig-Holstein Reconstruction Law on consolidation of holdings could be used only if *Durchführungspläne* had been approved. Consequently plans had to precede actual reconstruction by a considerable period.

On 5th May, 1950, property owners in the area west of Holtenauer Strasse, the area of *Durchführungsplan 4*, came together to form a consolidation *Verband*. The tireless work of Dr. Kersig in negotiating with property owners made possible the relatively quick completion of the plan without litigation. From June to July the plan for consolidation of holdings was put before the public. It had already been decided what construction companies would build up the area. On the 19th July the consolidation plan became law. The new property lines were entered in the city land registry office. In the course of the summer, those property owners who were not included in the new arrangement were compensated with land elsewhere. During the summer the City Planning Office and Dr. Kersig talked with financing institutions in order to be sure of funds before reconstruction started.

As bank president and a man of considerable personal wealth, Dr.

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Kersig was able to get financial help from credit institutions where others would have failed. Furthermore, he personally bought up a large amount of land in this area in order to avoid controversies between former owners. As a neutral party, he was allowed by the *Verband* to do this. Negotiations between the *Verband* and financial institutions took place in July and August 1950, and by the middle of September the financing of *Durchführungsplan 4* was assured and construction could start.

Four separate areas, known by the numbers I, II, IV, and V, were demarcated in the Holtenauer Strasse district for *Zusammenlegung* (Consolidation). The division was decided by Dr. Kersig and Jensen, according to the stages that would be followed in building. Each of the areas had its own *Verband*. In each case a union of property owners was formed to speed up the process of reconstruction.

Cost of reconstruction in the Holtenauer Strasse project was figured according to the four areas for consolidation. A building organization, *Aufbaugenossenschaft Kiel Holtenauer Strasse*, which was established after the dissolution of the *Verbände*, bore the cost of the project, some of which was met by sale of land, but most of which had to be financed by long-term loans. In this respect the position of Dr. Kersig as bank president and as leader of the *Aufbaugenossenschaft* was of great importance in getting credit for the organization. Because the project could be financed through long-term loans, the city could sustain the expense.

Planning in the Holtenauer Strasse area went hand in hand with planning for the centre of Kiel. This was of no little importance in getting popular support for the project. The early completion of the area to the west of Holtenauer Strasse—construction began in September 1950 and some buildings were ready for occupancy as early as April 1951—gave a push to all reconstruction in Kiel. After building lines had been set, and the plans themselves had been made, it was not considered essential to complete the entire project immediately. All properties in the Holtenauer Strasse area were not consolidated until early 1952, and reconstruction was not completed until later that year. Because of its initial success as evidenced in *Durchführungsplan 4*, the City Planning Office did not fear that failure to build immediately would result in sabotaging the plans, as was often the case in Cologne.

The Griechenmarktviertel was to be the testing ground of Cologne's reconstruction. It was an unfortunate choice to begin with,

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because of the idea current in Cologne that nice people just didn't live in this section. Yet it might have been successful with real leadership. Financial difficulties were real, but in the end, as a member of the City Council said, the cost of wasted time and duplicated effort was at least as great as immediate reconstruction on borrowed funds would have been. By leaving everything to groups such as the Union of House and Property Owners and private building corporations, when it could be predicted that the aims of the two would not be identical, the Council almost condemned the project from the start. The Council should have made clear-cut decisions to get work under way and should have sent directives to the City Planning Office to speed up action. The administration should have encouraged public interest in the project from the start. An occasional debate in the Council or article in a newspaper was not adequate for generating enthusiasm. The SPD, the Council, and the Union of House and Property Owners all assumed that an occasional mention of the project would suffice. Each group which had brought up the *Viertel* for consideration was unwilling to take continued leadership in its reconstruction. Leadership in matters of reconstruction must be sustained and self-confident. In the absence of leadership, private groups rivalled one another not to rebuild the *Viertel*.

Where leadership with determination was missing in Cologne, it was present in Kiel. According to many preconceived ideas of what cities should have been able to plan and rebuild after the war, Kiel should have been as unsuccessful as any. Kiel's tax income was greatly reduced, and like all West German cities, she suffered a temporary setback in the currency reform. Yet in Kiel the planners were not afraid to take action that might have incurred political unpopularity, nor did they confuse inability to pay for reconstruction immediately with the essential demarcation of building lines to allow reconstruction to be completed over a period of years. Because of the determination and foresight of her planners, Kiel, as the Holtenauer Strasse project shows, made good use of the opportunities presented by wartime devastation.

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¹ E. Sirp: 'Das Griechmarktviertel in Köln,' *Statistische Mitteilungen der Stadt Köln*, VI (1951), p. 113.

² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³ Köln. Stadtvertretung, *Verhandlungen der Stadtvertretung zu Köln* (Cologne: Druckerei J. P. Bachem, yearly since 1945), Minutes of session of 23rd February 1950.

⁴ *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 10th November 1950.

⁵ *Kölnische Rundschau*, 10th December 1950.

⁶ *Fluchtilinienplan*.

⁷ *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*, 24th July 1953.

⁸ *Durchführungspläne*.

⁹ Köln. Stadtvertretung, *Verhandlungen der Stadtvertretung zu Köln*. Minutes of session of 21st May 1953.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes of session of 21st May 1953.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes of session of 2nd February 1956.

¹² Kiel. Holtenauer Strasse. Contrasting plans of the area, showing the property lines and extent of built-up area in 1936 (Fig. 2a) and in 1956 (Fig. 2b). The dotted area in Fig. 2b indicates green (park) areas. The notable extent of property merger is shown by these plans.

Source: Germany. Federal Republic. Bundesministerium für Wohnungsbau, 'Aufbau Kiel Holtenauer Strasse,' *Versuchs- und Vergleichsbauten des Bundesministeriums für Wohnungsbau*, I, (n.d.), pp. 12-13.

¹³ General building plan (master plan).

¹⁴ Germany. Federal Republic. Bundesministerium für Wohnungsbau, 'Aufbau Kiel Holtenauer Strasse,' *Versuchs- und Vergleichsbauten des Bundesministeriums für Wohnungsbau*, I, (n.d.), p. 8.

REVIEWS

Slavery by C. W. W. Greenidge. Pp. 235. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958. 21s.

Desegregation: Resistance and Readiness by Melvin M. Tumin. Pp. xvii + 270. Princeton University Press (London: Oxford University Press) 1958. 40s.

Minorities in the New World by C. Wagley and M. Harris. Pp. xvi + 320. Columbia University Press (London: Oxford University Press) 1958. 48s.

The subject matter of each of these three works is essentially the same, what, in normative terms, would be called 'man's inhumanity to man,' or, in more neutral language, social problems arising from systems of super- and sub-ordination and from social discrimination and segregation.

The first book consists of a discussion of slavery and various other forms of human bondage (Part I: The Facts), followed by a description of the anti-slavery movement (Part II: The Fight). The author, a retired Director of the Anti-Slavery Society, is often uncritical in the selection and use of source material, and has a tendency to generalize from what could be atypical cases. Yet, he does give, on the whole, convincing evidence that the indifference of governments, the weight of tradition, the pressure of vested interests, and the prevalence of poverty, have resulted in the persistence until today of slavery in a few places (mainly in some Islamic countries), and debt-bondage, peonage, and the virtual sale of women and children over wide areas of the earth.

The sociologist-as-citizen will accept this book as a reminder that human suffering is often a vivid reality beneath the professional terminology used in describing systems of social stratification and customary behaviour. Greenidge reminds us, too, that ethical evaluation has its place, as well as functional analysis. But the book has a very limited value for the sociologist-as-scientist. The brief accounts of the history of the Anti-Slavery Society and of the Slave Charities do, however, suggest that rewarding studies might be made of shifts

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in institutional functions and of the influence of kinship and class factors in the origin and persistence of British philanthropic societies.

Desegregation is a report on a careful study of factors conditioning the readiness of individuals in the U.S. to accept integration of white and Negro children in the public schools. In the sample of individuals studied, persons with a combination of high status occupation, some college education, and wide exposure to the mass media were found to be those 'most ready.' The author, a well-known sociologist, examined the influence of eleven variables on the respondents' image of the Negro, their social ideology, and their readiness to act. The research design is neatly structured, and the result is aesthetically pleasing as well as intellectually satisfying. However, the restriction of the sample to only 276 white males, and of the area of study to a single county of one State in the Upper South lessens its predictive value.

Active workers in the field of race relations will, no doubt, use the book to give the sanction of science to their strategies of change, and will welcome the author's air of cautious optimism. At the same time, they will probably contend that the study tells them little that they do not already know from previous experience and research.

Wagley and Harris have selected five political units in the New World in order to examine a problem set by U.N.E.S.C.O., viz., a study of factors affecting the social integration of various ethnic groups which face barriers to full participation within various political communities, i.e., 'minorities.' The book contains six succinct, but well-written, case studies based upon memoranda submitted to U.N.E.S.C.O by area specialists. The chapters on the Indians in Brazil and the Negroes of Martinique present vivid, fresh, material documenting the processes of acculturation, and social change.

In the final chapter on 'An Anthropological View of Minority Groups,' the authors put forward a scheme for analyzing minority situations which involves synchronic, diachronic, and comparative dimensions. They isolate two 'structural components' which seem to be present wherever a minority problem exists—ethnocentrism and endogamy. The uniqueness of each situation, on the other hand, is to be found in certain crucial 'historical cultural components,' these being the adaptive capacity of the minority, the nature of the objects for which they and the majority are competing, and the ideological setting. Wagley and Harris feel that any realistic pro-

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gramme for reform must take these factors into account. The analytical scheme is adequate to explain the six cases, but awaits testing against additional case material. A study of this book might deepen the understanding of their tasks by any politicians and administrators who will take the time to read it.

University College of Ghana.

ST. CLAIR DRAKE.

The Foundations of Political Theory by H. R. G. Greaves.
Pp. 208. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958. 21s.

Approaches to the Study of Politics edited by Roland Young.
Pp. xxx + 382. London: Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1959. 30s.

'British Attitudes to Politics,' *The Political Quarterly*, Volume 30,
No. 1. Pp. 108. London: Stevens & Sons Ltd., 1959.

It would be a great pity if political science were to become more and more divided between two separate compartments, with practically nothing in common, one being the study of political behaviour and the practical working of institutions and the other being a political theory divorced from day-to-day discoveries. The necessary specialisation of research and teaching leads to a practical dichotomy; adepts of the newer developments in political science have often disregarded the value of theoretical analysis; modern political philosophy has perhaps also been indirectly responsible for this flight from political theory, although it has helped to reconsider political concepts and their practical implementation.

Mr. Greaves's recent book, *The Foundations of Political Theory* is particularly interesting because it does in many ways narrow the gap between the two branches of political science. Mr. Greaves knows the logical limitations of any theory based on an abstract definition of political and moral values; he readily accepts the criticisms which can be made against such a definition. It is not on a foundation of this character that he intends to build modern political values. He starts on the contrary with the assumption that values only have a purely human and subjective reality: he can thus destroy any attempt to justify the State on grounds of its supra-human character. But, after having asserted the purely human and personal significance of moral values, he can still recognise their practical importance: they are the natural means through which men express their desires, and in particular their social desires. It is

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on the values which are common to the members of a society that a sense of genuine community can be established. Although these values may vary throughout the centuries, the very existence of the State as a community is founded on the general recognition of beliefs and moral values which become in the process as real as if they had been defined *in abstracto*.

The foundations of the State can be based on these values because these values are ultimately linked to a general pattern of reactions and social behaviour among human societies. But, although Mr. Greaves widens the scope of his analysis to various kinds of societies and although he insists on the dynamic nature of such social needs, he cannot entirely escape the criticism of focusing his enquiry on the 'civilised' society as being the best expression of the 'true' social needs of men. His assessment of the values of non-civilised and non-democratic countries remains therefore geared to the assessment of the values in the democratic and civilised countries. The value of his method as a general explanation tends therefore to be somewhat undermined and the problem certainly would require a more systematic treatment than the one which he has given to it. But, on the main theme, Mr. Greaves's book remains undoubtedly a very important contribution to a more modern understanding of the foundations of the State and one which would give political theorists and political behaviourists alike more ground for thoughts in common.

Mr. Greaves's book may bring political theorists and political behaviourists nearer to one another; the symposium edited by Mr. Young explicitly has that aim in view. It is an account of the present state of political science in the United States and it groups twenty-two essays ranging from the rôle of public law in political science and the rôle of values in a political science curriculum to the study of models in small groups and the problems raised by community behaviour. In practice, it seems that, with such an aim in view, the symposium method, at first sight perhaps the most obvious one, is not necessarily the most effective. The field is wide while specialists are too specialised for it: the result is that centrifugal forces appear stronger than the forces which could keep political scientists together. But, as a reference book on specialised topics, the symposium is an extremely interesting venture. It shows the scope of the preoccupations of American political scientists in the field of political theory; it gives examples of the kind of sociological and political studies

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which can be carried out about the problems of decision-making and environment. In this respect in particular, the essays should be of great interest to European political scientists who have not always given to these problems the attention they undoubtedly deserve.

On a much wider scale, the special issue of *The Political Quarterly* is an attempt to fill part of a gap, or indeed to explore a field which has been very little touched upon by British political scientists. In a series of articles on M.P.s, the churches, trade-unions, television, students in universities, combined with articles dealing with attitudes of the British public in general, the contributors show the size of the unknown, or little known territory, whilst they give some very useful evidence about the political attitudes of the different men and different groups which, in turn, create the political attitude of the group at large. This study could therefore be the starting point of a number of detailed and systematic enquiries which would throw light on many aspects of British political life. In placing the emphasis of the issues on attitudes, *The Political Quarterly* has unquestionably helped to show the acute necessity of such enquiries.

*University College of
North Staffordshire.*

J. BLONDEL.

Essays on 'The Welfare State' by Richard M. Titmuss. Pp. 232.
London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958. 20s.

Anyone concerned with social policy and social administration, whether as practitioner or theorist will acclaim this publication as it makes available for reference in one volume the text of 10 stimulating lectures which previously had either not appeared in print at all, or were only accessible in diverse and not readily available journals. These lectures covered a very wide area. The volume starts with a broad survey of the whole field of social administration in the inaugural lecture delivered by Professor Titmuss at the London School of Economics in 1951. The second chapter 'The Social Division of Welfare' attempts a redefinition of the traditional terminology of our social services. This is followed by several lectures dealing with the social services from a sociological angle such as the very topical issue of pensions systems and population change, the position of women in modern society and, perhaps most penetrating of all, 'Industrialisation and the Family.' Thus nearly everybody will find in this book food for new thought. To this

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reviewer however stands out the analysis given and the new research material presented in the last three chapters entitled 'The National Health Service in England' which represent the text of three talks given by Professor Titmuss at the University of Yale in 1957. In clear and concise language free from any jargon usually associated with the writings of social scientists the changing rôle of the general practitioner is set out in a way which is bound to confound many popular misconceptions.

The publication of this volume encourages one in the hope that Professor Titmuss may find the time amidst his many activities to write a sequel to his volume 'Problems of Social Policy,' still the best and profoundest analysis of social administration, and provide us with the comprehensive re-thinking of our social policy which seems so necessary at the present crucial stage of the development of our Welfare State.

University of Manchester.

T. E. CHESTER.

Work in the Lives of Married Women. The Proceedings of a Conference on Womanpower. Pp. xii+220. New York: Columbia University Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1958. 38s.

Wives and Mothers in Victorian Industry by Margaret Hewitt. Pp. x+245. London: Rockcliff Publishing Corporation, 1958. 30s.

The first volume is an outgrowth of the National Manpower Council's study of womanpower in the U.S.A. Of all the married women in the United States, three out of every ten are now working for money; of all the women with children of school-going age, four out of ten are employed outside the home. This virtual revolution with its social, economic and psychological implications is explored in eight papers by members of the conference qualified to deal with its varied aspects. These papers are published together with reports of the conference discussions which took place after each session, and the collective impression is one of caution in judgment, and keen awareness that they, the members of the group, are dealing with a living society. There is constant recognition that very little is known, not only about the reasons for the increase in the employment of women outside of the home, but about most of its possible social consequences.

In those papers that deal with the positive side of the problem, the need for efficient use of this new supply of woman power if the rising trend of productions is to continue, and the adjustment of the education of young girls in consequence, there is greater certainty, perhaps not always justified. There is, for instance, no sound basis given for the suggestion that 'we are going to face a great shortage of manpower ten years from now.' The majority of the members of the conference, however, appear to treat the continuance of the *desire* of women to work on after marriage or to return to their jobs once the children are at school, as an established fact.

It is in the negative problems, the possible moral and social difficulties which may result, such as psychological damage to the children or to the stability of the marriage, that the uncertainty appears with impressive frequency. The participants in the discussion are willing to find that 'the new pattern of work outside the home for wives and mothers has had, by and large, desirable social and economic consequences.' They advocate research but refuse to generalise upon results and insist repeatedly that it all depends upon the individual. Upon many of these problems, indeed, significant judgments will be derived from a system of values rather than from research, for it is the value system of the society which is under examination.

To turn from this mid-twentieth century study to what is in essence the same situation (even to numbers for Lancashire at least: 3 in 10 and 26%) in the mid-nineteenth century is to receive a tonic shock of historical perspective. Margaret Hewitt's book is diffused with a feminist desire to prove that the social evils held by contemporary opinion to emanate from the employment of women in the Victorian factories were not necessarily the consequences of that employment *per se*, but were, together with that employment, a part of the general evils of post-industrial revolution society—bad housing, appalling ignorance and subsistence wages. For the most part the verdict is 'not proven' but the comment of the times, which blamed the squalor of working class homes exclusively onto the working mothers is demonstrated to be without factual basis. Economic need is established as the most important motive for working, instead of the contemporary belief that women work 'because they like the crowded factory better than solitary house-work.' An illuminating light is thrown by a comparison of the suggested effects of the employment of mothers on the well-being of

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their children in each of the two centuries. There is implicit in the Victorian story the assumption that by the age of six a child is ready to take responsibility; no longer to be nursed and cared for, but himself a potential nurse and worker. The maternity benefits, Child Welfare Clinics and nursery schools which grew out of the stirrings of the Victorian public conscience have long since come to fruition. But have we of the twentieth century really replaced the dangers of starvation and ill-health by the more complex and potentially dangerous problems of emotional maladjustment, delayed maturity and delinquency? Or are we being over-anxious about the results of an inescapable trend? Neither book offers a distinct answer. Together they constitute a very useful analysis.

*University College of
North Staffordshire.*

R. O. WILLIAMS.

The Changing Social Structure of England and Wales, 1871-1951, by David C. Marsh. Pp. xiv + 266. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958. 28s.

Scottish Social Welfare, 1864-1914, by Thomas Ferguson. Pp. xi + 609. Edinburgh: E. & S. Livingstone Ltd., 1958. 42s.

Professor Marsh's book deals with the reliability and scope of national statistical data on the changes in the social structure of England and Wales between the Census of 1871 and that of 1951. The principal sources of information are the Census and other national governmental reports. Professor Marsh has succeeded in presenting numerical material neatly and effectively.

Although explicitly written for the student and the general reader, the book is handicapped by a lack of balance between the statistical material and the sociological commentary. Most of the limitations of the book can be traced to the author's choice of the Census as a framework of facts to be filled in with sociological commentary. There is thus a reasonably full coverage (especially in footnotes) of the publications of the General Register Office, but the references to the relevant sociological literature e.g. on social class, occupations and the family are inadequate even for the intended readership. There are serious omissions in the final chapters on the changing pattern of social problems which deal with sickness and crime. The

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section on sickness for example does not make reference to the changes in the social class and occupational differences in mortality and morbidity. The book's value to students and the interested layman would be enhanced by some charts and diagrams, a more comprehensive index and a map showing the regions and counties of England and Wales.

It is unfortunate that there is no work which systematically compares the social structure and social problems of England and Wales with those of Scotland. When the comparison comes to be made, however, Professor Ferguson's excellent history of Scottish social welfare will serve as one of the major sources of information. He begins his latest volume with the appointment of the first Scottish Medical Officers of Health in 1863. With the aid of the reports of these men and their colleagues he shows how the categories of recognised social needs were gradually enlarged. In the words of the Glasgow Medical Officer of Health in 1888, the first public health officers were concerned with the 'chips and dishonoured stones which fell from the social structure to litter the base.' Other quotations illustrate how keenly aware were the early welfare administrators of the characteristics of this social structure. The main story is concerned with the provision of welfare services for the base of the social structure. But the social prejudices, sympathies and intellectual assumptions of the providers of welfare are equally well illustrated. The pages on housing include not only the sanitary state of dwellings but everything which comes under the heading of 'sociological aspects of housing.'

The volume is excellently printed and well-illustrated. It is provided with a good index and a classified list of references to official and unofficial sources. A map showing counties and towns and perhaps also an appendix calendar of the dates of principal social welfare inquiries and legislation would increase the usefulness of this book to students.

University of Edinburgh.

S. A. SKLAROFF.

Reviews

A Survey of Social Conditions in England and Wales by A. M. Carr-Saunders, D. Caradog Jones and C. A. Moser. Pp. xxi + 302. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, 1958. 25s.

The 3rd edition of this established compilation has an even wider scope than its predecessors, thus reflecting something of the post-war expansion of official statistics and the growth of social research. C. A. Moser appears as joint author for the first time and proves a fit partner for the distinguished authors of the earlier editions.

The 19 chapters fall broadly into three main groups. The first deals with the demographic aspects of the population and with its regional distribution. The second is concerned with some economic characteristics, and in particular with the occupational and industrial structure, the ownership of property, and the distribution of personal income and expenditure. The third and final group embraces education, social security, nutrition and health (or rather ill-health), leisure activities, religion and crime. The work is one of description not of explanation. As each topic comes under review the authors have assiduously combed through the relevant official statistics, supplemented them here and there by reference to academic, and occasionally other, research, and presented a lucid summary of the main statistical series that are available.

The result is rather kaleidoscopic. It is not a book to be read in the expectation of acquiring a mental picture of social conditions in England and Wales for the wealth of statistical material is too great and we lack an adequate social theory to weld the pieces into a coherent whole. Further, as the authors implicitly acknowledge, we cannot yet describe social conditions by statistics alone. Nor is it a book of reference in the usual sense, for the authors' choice has been to cover many topics in brief with the inevitable result that none is surveyed in detail. Yet the need for an intelligible introduction to the maze of social statistics, with a simple account of their salient features and sufficient references to original sources to facilitate further study, is as urgent now as it was more than a quarter of a century ago when the first edition appeared. This need the volume meets in good measure.

University of Liverpool.

H. SILCOCK.

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Industrial Society and Social Welfare by Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux. Pp. 401. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1958. \$5.00.

Bureaucracy in New Zealand edited by R. S. Milne. Pp. 137. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 20s.

In-Service Training for Social Agency Practice by Martha Moscrop. Pp. vii + 245. Toronto University Press (London: Oxford University Press) 1958. 60s.

Each of these books deals with a different aspect of the growth of professionalism—one with its implications for public administration generally, the others more specifically with its development in social welfare.

Although mainly concerned with social case work, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare* is the most comprehensive. It is intended to be an analysis of the effect of industrial growth on social welfare—of the welfare problems created by urban-industrial society and of the institution, social work, which has developed to meet them. Had it succeeded it could have filled a long-felt need in the sociology of social work. But it disappoints in a way common to most books in this field. It is a frequent experience of social practitioners that theoretical analyses rarely live up to their promise when applied to practical situations. This book is no exception. The first part is an historical analysis of industrialisation in terms of some of its concomitants which are of interest to the sociologist, such as specialisation and stratification. The later part is an attempt to examine social work within this sociological framework. Practitioners will find less synthesis than this account suggests, and will feel that the analysis of social work would have been just as penetrating without reference to sociological theory. Nevertheless the book is a useful contribution. Social workers, in common with many others, do not find it easy to look dispassionately at what they are doing, and if this book did no more it would have been worth publishing. It should prove useful as an introductory text for courses in the sociology of social work; and the comprehensive bibliography and textual references may ensure that, for some time to come, research workers in this field will need it as their stepping-off point. Practising social workers should certainly read Part III.

The scope of *Bureaucracy in New Zealand* is narrower than might

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be expected from its title. It is an examination of the rôle of administrative discretion in the central government of that country, in the form of a symposium presented to the 1957 Convention of the New Zealand Institute of Public Administration. It is largely an apologia, and so may appear to lack balance. The approach of the contributors, mainly academics and administrators, is practical and descriptive; and except for Professor Milne's introductory article, little attempt has been made to examine the facts relating to New Zealand within the wider context provided by a theoretical framework, or by comparison with other countries. This may be considered one of its strengths, for, like its predecessors in the series 'Studies in Public Administration,' it is a clear, factual, and sometimes closely documented account of an aspect of government in New Zealand.

Most countries have a shortage of trained social workers and few can hope to relieve it in the foreseeable future by the usual methods of full-time training, particularly when these are at university level. In-service training by employing organisations is one alternative. Stripped of its inessentials, of which there are many, *In-Service Training for Social Agency Practice* is a useful practical account of a six months course for unqualified social case workers, which has been in operation for 15 years in the British Columbia Social Welfare Branch. Miss Moscrop is verbose and dogmatic; and she gives too much attention to minor administrative detail, and too little to an examination of assumptions underlying her assertions. She is quite satisfied, for example, that in-service training in the agency ought to be a preparation for full-time training in the university and not a substitute for it. Despite limitations this book should be of interest to administrators faced with a chronic shortage of social workers, although it is doubtful whether many welfare organisations outside North America would be prepared to adopt its prescriptions in their entirety. The chapter on recruiting, for example, sets such high standards of personal acceptability for trainees that it is hard to believe the incidence of suitable people in any ordinary population could satisfy the demands of one small agency. Sociologists should read this book for the, one assumes unconscious, insights it gives into the mystique with which social workers surround their work.

University of Adelaide.

R. G. BROWN.

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Function, Purpose, and Powers by Dorothy Emmet. Pp. vii + 300. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1958. 28s.

It is a great pleasure to find a philosopher attempting in this book to return from academic Waste Lands to the troubled world of everyday affairs. It is, then, all the more disturbing that the author has found social anthropology, rather than sociology, profitable as a traveller's aid. Anthropologists have, Professor Emmet asserts 'unlike most other kinds of sociologists . . . developed a fairly systematic framework of concepts.' They seem to have been given this measure of flattering attention because they have made detailed studies 'of people in actual relationships in particular societies'; the conceptual framework of the anthropologist is recognised as having been used as a tool to reduce the relevant data to some sort of order. This process is favourably contrasted with that of the continental philosophical sociologists, such as Max Weber and Simmel, who start with concepts, and collect data to illustrate them.

But what about the empirical sociologist, as contrasted with his 'continental' colleague? When Professor Emmet expresses an interest in the problems of power, responsibility, and purpose she speaks a language which is that of sociology rather than anthropology. All of these subjects are essential to the understanding of the changing society of the modern industrial world; they are only somewhat indirectly relevant to the traditional society which it has replaced. It is a pity that she has not recognised this more clearly.

University of Liverpool.

T. S. SIMEY.

Social Change by Ian Hogbin. Pp. ix + 257. London: C. A. Watts & Co. Ltd., 1958. 21s.

Information, Decision and Action by F. E. Emery and O. A. Oeser. Pp. xiv + 132. Melbourne University Press (London: Cambridge University Press) 1958. 21s.

The titles and publishers' blurbs of both these books give the same misleading impression of dealing with a theoretical question of great generality. But in fact the core of each handles very concrete local matters.

Messrs. Emery and Oeser have studied a small community of sheep farmers in Victoria to discover the conditions under which

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they tend to be accessible to 'progressive' ideas about farming techniques and diligent in applying them in practice. Their report should be invaluable to the Victorian Department of Agriculture in suggesting ways to improve its propaganda techniques and less directly to other agencies faced with similar problems. But the authors, though apparently careful enough in sifting the evidence bearing on their immediate problem, sometimes extrapolate rather wildly. Thus they note on page 41 that certain of their findings have only been shown to be valid 'in this area, for this sample, at the present time,' but have moved without argument by page 54 to a general conclusion applicable in other fields, such as teaching and industrial relations 'which are, of course, merely other examples of interpersonal communication systems.'

Their frame of reference does not permit unbiased discussion of the deeper problems which industrialism raises for such areas. It is taken for granted that excellence as a farmer is to be measured by the criteria which government agencies would accept. While this is a possible position, it is disconcerting to see 'science' pressed so unashamedly into the service of a particular ideology.

Mr. Hogbin says many interesting things about the impact of modern western ways of life on Melanesian tribal communities, based on his own and others' field researches. He claims also to make a contribution to a general theory of social change, but the argument to this end is diffuse and rambling. It is also based on the unargued assumption that the transition to industrialism, though only a stage, is a stage in the direction of progress and that the development of the social sciences 'should enable our successors to plan something better to take its (*sc.* industrialism's) place' (p. 249). It is curious, in the light of the history of this century so far, to read that 'Civilized man is beginning to learn that he is not the plaything of blind fate: he is trying to stand on his own feet *and* (reviewer's italics) accept the responsibility for planning the destiny of mankind as a whole' (p. 54). God forgive civilized man and preserve mankind as a whole.

University College of Swansea.

PETER WINCH.

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The Idea of a Social Science by Peter Winch. Pp. 143. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958. 12s. 6d.

Political Power and Social Theory by Barrington Moore, Jr. Pp. xiv + 215. Harvard University Press (London: Oxford University Press) 1958. 36s.

"To be clear about the nature of philosophy and to be clear about the nature of the social studies amount to the same thing. For any worth-while study of society must be philosophical in character and any worthwhile philosophy must be concerned with the nature of society."

This is Mr. Winch, but it is a formulation which I think Mr. Moore could be brought to accept; both authors are concerned to see the social studies as humanist studies.

Mr. Moore's essays strike quite a different note from Mr. Winch's sustained theoretical exposition. He is interested in problems of totalitarianism and is struck by the reluctance of the acknowledged masters in contemporary sociology to tackle this 20th century equivalent of the social question. He attributes the static bias and tendency towards triviality in their work to their attempts to emulate the natural sciences. He advocates a kind of 'natural history' of institutions and social structures which would enable us to define the framework of, or delimit, our current freedom of manoeuvre in social organisation. In this way, he points out, the sociologist can widen the area of our choice, and this—rather than perfect prediction—is the proper aim of the social studies.

Readers of the *British Journal of Sociology* will know Mr. Winch's line of argument from the paper which appeared in that journal in the spring of 1956. He now presents it in more rounded form in this elegant and convincing monograph which it is a pleasure to review.

It follows from the meaningful ('rule following,' 'normative') character of human activities in society that we cannot base our understanding of them on the methods of natural science. This was Weber's conclusion too, although he sought to bridge the gap between the natural and social sciences by showing that the kind of 'law' which the sociologist may formulate to account for the behaviour of human beings is *logically* no different from a 'law' in natural science. Mr. Winch scrutinises this position carefully. He demonstrates the indispensability of Weber's concept of sociological understanding (*verstehen*)—by means of a fresh and lively reappraisal of Pareto's views on 'the mind and society.' He then argues for a

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notion of *verstehen* which makes it dependent, not on the application of intuitive self-knowledge derived from the workings of a fictitious 'inner sense,' but on a knowledge of relevant *socially-established* concepts. These are discussed in a final chapter, 'Concepts and Actions,' which can usefully be read in conjunction with Maurice Mandelbaum's discussion (B.J.S. VI. 4. 55.) of concepts (he calls them 'societal facts': they are aspects of social organisation like 'bank' or 'monogamous marriage system') which are not reducible without remainder to the psychology or motivation of existing individuals, but which are nevertheless indispensable to an understanding (explanation) of their behaviour.

Here, however, the reader is left, hungrier for more the better he has followed Mr. Winch up to this point in the discussion. If we are not to model ourselves on the natural sciences, how should we proceed? For, unlike Weber, Mr. Winch gives no methodological advice as to how in fact one sets about understanding social institutions. He does indeed demonstrate that we cannot rely, as Weber thought we could, on the statistical investigation of regularities. But the comparative method, and what is sometimes called 'sociography' must both have a place even in the study of rule-following behaviour, and one would very much like to hear Mr. Winch define their rôle in more positive terms—perhaps in the course of an illustrated discussion of the applicability of Weber's methodological notions and devices—for instance *Wertbeziehung*, the 'historical individual' and the 'ideal-type.'

The Idea of a Social Science is the epistemological counterpart of Mr. Moore's essay, 'The New Scholasticism and the Study of Politics'; we need a sequel which would stand in the same relation to his companion essay, 'Strategy in the Social Sciences.'

University of London
Institute of Education.

JEAN FLOUD.

Social Structure and Personality in the Factory by Paul Lafitte.
Pp. xii + 228. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958. 24s.

Productivity and Social Organization: The Ahmedabad Experiment
by A. K. Rice. Pp. xiii + 298. London: Tavistock Publications
Ltd., 1958. 35s.

Dr. Lafitte's book is a study of the attitudes of industrial workers in a number of factories in Australia; Mr. Rice's work was under-

taken in an Indian textile mill. Both therefore are to be welcomed, in the first place, as contributions to the body of comparative data which is necessary if more broad-based generalisations about the process of industrialisation are to be achieved. Dr. Lafitte emphasises that psychologists have made few studies of real life, and 'the few industrial ones have been virtual consultancy.' Mr. Rice's endeavours were indeed a plain piece of consultancy, based on explicit assumptions, in an endeavour to achieve a more effective and satisfying work organisation.

The Australian study is a book for the professional social scientist. The style is somewhat turgid, and the treatment very, and sometimes excessively detailed. In one sense, the latter is a commendable fault, since it is due to the author's anxiety, whilst departing from the well-trodden paths of psychology, to show his respect for the methodological rigour of the laboratory psychologist. This is as it should be in a scholarly work, but the manner of presentation reduces readability. A thorough methodological appendix referred to at various points in the text and summarised in the Introduction, would have been preferable. Whilst most of his case for falling short of the ideal is convincing, and acceptable to the experienced field-worker, it is odd that he relied on random volunteers for interviews. There seems to be no good reason why he did not take a more than adequate sample, and ask the persons concerned if they were willing to co-operate. Experience suggests that all but a small number would have done so.

Mr. Rice's book is very readable, in marked contrast to some of the previous publications of the Tavistock Institute. Indeed, he shows that elusive concepts can be expressed with reasonable simplicity. His principal assumptions were, firstly, that there is always a need for small, fairly self-sufficient groups of workers having interdependent tasks, and together concerned with a meaningful 'whole' activity; secondly, as regards management, that there is a need for specialisation and explicit definition of rôles as an organisation becomes technologically advanced and more complex, but that these specialised rôles, which are usually in control and service functions, should be within the management system to which they refer. The first might almost be called 'Hawthorne revisited,' and the second is close to the traditional 'unity of command.' When they were implemented, the quantity and quality of output rose, and the workers appeared to find it more satisfying—though the latter is

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inferred from their positive acceptance, even Muslims working on religious holidays! It is difficult to allow for the well-known 'experimental effect,' and more comparative studies of established groups are necessary.

Dr. Lafitte's conclusions are also corroborative of previous work rather than novel. The worker's judgments of his task, pay, bosses and mates are important—in that order; it is completeness and independence that he values most in his task, he respects co-operative rather than authoritarian bosses; and his view of society influences his work attitudes, particularly in terms of whether he accepts his present social position or not. These conclusions do not really conflict with Mr. Rice's, for when task, pay and bosses are satisfactory, social satisfactions may assume greater importance; in any case, these desiderata tend to be interdependent, as experience in the textile mill abundantly showed.

University of Liverpool.

W. H. SCOTT.

The Black-coated Worker by David Lockwood. Pp. 224. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1958. 21s.

New Ways in Management Training by Cyril Sofer and Geoffrey Hutton. Pp. xii + 127. London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1958. 15s.

The Black-coated Worker consists of an historical and socio-economic survey. It begins with observations on clerical work in the Counting House of the 19th century. Changes which have occurred and are still in progress are noted. The 'modern office' is discussed in terms of the market situation, the work situation and the status situation. The longest chapter is devoted to the relation of Trade Unionism to various groups of black-coated workers and includes observations upon the different ways these relationships have developed for different sub-groups. It is noted that black-coated workers form a very heterogeneous group. This affects both social coherence and mobility within the occupation. It also imposes strict limits to the general conclusions which can be drawn from studies such as the present survey. Problems of status form an important, recurrent theme and a distinction is made between the respective

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rôles of class and status. The impact of universal elementary education is noted as one factor contributing to the decline in general status of the (male) clerk and his position relative to the manual worker has been lowered as a result of the current emphasis upon 'productivity' in terms of which it is difficult to evaluate clerical work. Attention is also given to the special and changing rôle of women in clerical occupations. No brief review can do justice to this tightly packed and interesting survey which will undoubtedly become a major source of information about one of the less frequently studied occupations.

New Ways in Management Training is sharply contrasting in its approach. It consists of a report of the personal experience derived from a co-operative study of various problems of management training, carried out jointly by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations (to which the authors belong) and the Acton Technical College between 1954 and 1956. Intrinsically, the approach involves an extension of the 'clinical method' to the problems of an organisation and its activities. Special emphasis is placed upon 'action research' in which members of the outside body provide an independent probe of facts which would be approached less objectively by those directly involved.

Special topics considered include the rôle of the technical college in education for management, the needs and circumstances of students, relationships with local firms, the teacher and his tasks, and services for students and firms. The special value of this book lies in the opportunity which it provides to share experiences of the development of management training courses and its largely narrative account will contribute to a wide, general appeal. However, some professionally interested readers might wish to have access to more detailed information than is reproduced in this book.

University of Leeds.

ROLAND HARPER.

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Measuring Security in Personal Adjustment by Mary D. Ainsworth and Leonard H. Ainsworth. Pp. xi + 98. Toronto University Press (London: Oxford University Press) 1958. 24s.

The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations by Fritz Heider. Pp. ix + 322. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. (London: Chapman and Hall) 1958.

On Shame and the Search for Identity by Helen Merrell Lynd. Pp. 318. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958. 25s.

These three books represent contrasting approaches to the understanding of human nature.

Measuring Security is a technical monograph on the development of a set of instruments designed to 'assess the extent to which an individual is secure or insecure' and 'to describe the methods whereby he attempts to attain or maintain security.' The 'areas of adjustment' to which the instruments are applied are 'certain aspects of familial intimacies, extra-familial intimacies, avocations and philosophy of life.'

At the level of test construction, the book and the work of the authors is systematic, meticulous and competent. The authors realise that their instruments have a limited range of application to literate persons within a middle range of variation and that the rationale will be so apparent to respondents that much of their value will be lost when they are used for screening or selection purposes and respondents feel strongly about those purposes. On the other hand, they claim that the tests are 'of considerable potential usefulness' for the identification of the individuals 'who should be appraised more thoroughly and possibly given counselling or therapy . . . The test battery should be especially effective in identifying individuals with a high degree of manifest insecurity and those who are unduly defensive.'

It is perhaps unfair to the Ainsworths to take the opportunity to express criticism of the whole class of psychological literature that their work represents, though this is forced upon the reviewer by the comparisons which the editor of the journal has provided for *Measuring Security*. Readers outside the frame of reference of the authors will remain uncomfortable at the conception of psychological 'tests' (which must carry the flavour of examinations set by intellectually or morally superior beings) and of 'adjustment to life'

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(which implies that one who deviates or, presumably, innovates needs 'readjustment'). The danger with pencil and paper approaches in psychology—especially when they are implicitly used in conjunction with an 'equilibrium' view of relationships—is that they can imprison the psychologist as much as the respondent.

Dr. Heider describes his new book *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations* as his current 'work-notes towards a pre-theory of interpersonal relations' with special reference to pair relations. He is engaged in a conceptual clarification in the belief that in the study of interpersonal relations we already have a great deal of empirical knowledge and can now arrive at systematic understanding and crucial experiments most rapidly by attempting to classify the theory. This is from a man who has made his own distinguished contributions to empirical work in this field. One interesting feature of this book is Dr. Heider's contention that scientific psychology has a good deal to learn from common sense psychology as expressed in our everyday language and experience, and the systematic attempt he makes to compensate for the professional social scientist's chronic rejection of the spontaneous insight of the untrained person.

Dr. Heider may be confusing an important issue when he describes his concern as being with 'surface matters' which occur in everyday life on a conscious level rather than with the processes studied in 'depth psychology.' The individual is just as unaware, of course, of much that occurs at the levels of perception, physiological and sensory response, and social structure which interest Dr. Heider as he is of deep-seated factors in his loves, hates, identifications and conflicts which Dr. Heider does not regard as his province. While the former 'explanations' of behaviour give only part of the picture, so do the clinical, and it seems over-modest to regard the former as superficial.

Mrs. Lynd's *On Shame and the Search for Identity* is of yet another genre. With her husband, Robert S. Lynd, she was the author of that classic of empirical community study, *Middletown*. But she is a philosopher as well as a social scientist, and here she is as much concerned with the 'why' and 'wherefores' with which we torment ourselves as human beings and citizens as with the much more circumscribed 'hows' of our more guarded, split-off scientific selves. This makes her book a delight for those who have been drawn to the social sciences as much by a personal need to make sense of their world as by an attraction to the manipulation of techniques.

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The core of Mrs. Lynd's argument is that 'Experiences of (personal) shame are a painful uncovering of hitherto unrecognised aspects of one's society and of the world. If it is possible to face them, instead of seeking protection from what they reveal, they may throw light on who one is, and hence point the way toward who and what one may become.' It is difficult to evaluate her thesis because it depends ultimately as much on personal belief as on argument, but it is indisputable that she has caught in the net of an acute and sensitive mind a crucial aspect of the link between man and society.

It is as much a pleasure to travel with Mrs. Lynd as to arrive. This is partly because of the briskness with which she demolishes her pet aversions—notably those sterile contemporary approaches to personality that isolate separate items and attempt to trace connections between them without treating dynamic relationships between them as equally basic. But it is largely because, in her attempt to understand the world about her, she draws as much on a rich literary background as on her knowledge of social and psychological research. It is a humbling thought that Mrs. Lynd's own thinking apart, most readers will find it difficult to decide whether they have learned more from her scientific or literary sources.

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London.*

CYRIL SOFER.

Outlines of East African Society by J. E. Goldthorpe. Pp. iii + 277. Kampala, Uganda: Department of Sociology, Makerere College, 1958. (Photolithographed from typescript, and bound in paper).
Colonial Planning: A Comparative Study by Barbu Niculescu. Pp. 208. London: Allen and Unwin, 1958. 18s.

Outlines of East African Society is intended primarily as a textbook for undergraduates reading sociology at Makerere College. It is offered also to a wider public as an introduction to the peoples and society of British East Africa, and as a modest summary of the main findings of sociology in this field. There are chapters on demography; on the distribution of African peoples; on the Asian and European populations; and a summary of the social organisation of five African tribes. Other chapters deal with religious groups, labour and employment, town life, social class, and race relations.

Dr. Goldthorpe has made good use of the limited space his plan allows him. Within each chapter the information presented is well-

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selected and, with very minor exceptions, reliable; and it is organised around problems many of which will be of practical concern to East African readers. Readers new to sociology will garner much information and a measure of sociological insight from this introduction. The specialist too is unlikely to be familiar with every field considered, and will find the discussion of his own speciality stimulating. Especially on the topics of demography and race relations Dr. Goldthorpe makes a number of original contributions. The research-worker will find this a useful guide-book to material much of which is difficult of access or unpublished, and to some of the major problems on which research is currently needed. For an adequate discussion of economic problems however he will not find the work of the East Africa Royal Commission duplicated here. There is no index.

Dr. Niculescu's work is concerned with colonial development plans, mostly post-war, and mostly in the African territories of Britain, France and Belgium, though with comparable reference to the West Indies and Surinam. A great deal of literature has been examined, and the various plans have been considered against their economic and administrative backgrounds; but as Dr. Niculescu himself remarks, no striking new facts or interpretations have been revealed. No serious attempt has been made to assess the effectiveness of the plans, still less to relate this to the various planning policies and machineries employed in the different territories. From this point of view a more detailed study of one of the plans and its practical development would have been valuable; for such a study the present work would provide a useful comparative survey of the field.

University of Manchester.

MARTIN SOUTHWOLD.

The Testing of Negro Intelligence by Audrey M. Shuey. Pp. xv + 351. Lynchburg, Virginia: J. P. Bell Co. Inc. (London: The Holborn Publishing Company Ltd.) 1958. 30s.

Diagnostic Performance Tests by Boris Semeonoff and Eric Trist. Pp. xv. + 176. London: Tavistock Publications Ltd., 1958. 32s.

The first of these two books brings together in a well documented summary, the results of some 240 studies (all American) published in the last forty or so years and which throw light upon the

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differences between the measured 'intelligence' levels of negroes and whites in North America. The age groups dealt with cover the whole range from pre-school to adult. The tests used in the studies summarised are of all types, verbal and non-verbal, group and individual.

A critical survey of the evidence leads the author to a number of interesting conclusions. She finds that there are considerable regional differences in mean I.Q. (approximately 9 points) among negroes which appear to be due in part to environmental differences and in part to selective migration. She also points out that, wherever evidence is derived from comparable social groups of negroes and whites, the negro group shows a general and consistent inferiority on all kinds of test, and that, when successes and failures are analysed by types of item, the negro performs less efficiently in tests that are relatively abstract in nature. It seems too that the discrepancies between mean I.Q.'s of negro and white groups are least at the pre-school level, possibly because of the nature of the tests used and the degree of selectivity of the samples, and tend to be as much as 15-20 points at the elementary and high school levels, possibly partly because of a real decline in I.Q. on the part of the negro and partly because of the cumulative effects of poorer schooling.

This is a painstaking and valuable contribution to the literature of social and racial differences. It does not claim to prove incontrovertibly any point in the nature-nurture controversy, but it certainly provides the basis for much thought about it.

Diagnostic Performance Tests is offered by its authors as a manual for the clinical use with adults of an individual scale of tests developed during the war. The tests themselves are for the most part adaptations and modifications of existing material and the originality and usefulness of the battery, which are great, lie in the detailed suggestions for administration given in the manual and the clear exposition of the rationale.

The authors have concentrated upon the use of the test materials as the basis for a qualitative as well as quantitative appraisal of intellectual functioning. Used cautiously by those who have taken pains to master its use and to record and check their own observations against the suggestions of the authors, the battery promises to be an excellent clinical instrument and to permit some evaluation of intelligence in its emotional context. Unlike some other diagnostic instruments however, the present battery does not merely rely on

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intuition for its validity. The manual contains a considerable amount of statistical material, tentative norms as adequate as the smallness and specialisation of the sample would warrant, interesting and objectively described case material and some considerable evidence for the pointers to differential diagnosis.

This reviewer, at all events, would wish to subscribe to Vernon's remark in the preface that the work of Trist and Semeonoff sets a pattern of painstaking observation and cautious interpretation for others to follow in the construction and use of individual tests for special purposes.

National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales, London.

W. D. WALL.

The Rise of the Meritocracy by Michael Young. Pp. 160. London: Thames & Hudson Ltd., 1958. 15s.

A gorgeous satire on what a country might be like if all advancement, both in school and in career, depended absolutely upon tested merit, and not at all on wealth or on some successful stroke of commercial jugglery. And if we enjoy it as a piece of vivid imagination, all is well.

Danger arises when some people treat the book as a serious account of what is actually going to happen if we merely go on going on as we are going on now. It is not: and this, for a reason which most of us would prefer to forget, namely that Young dismisses far too casually the core and centre of educational inequality as also of our whole class-ridden society—the public schools.

According to Young, the public school question was (will be) quietly and effortlessly eliminated as a result of 'the marvellous decade,' 1970-80, when educational expenditure went up (will go up) to 6.3% of the national product— $2\frac{1}{2}$ times greater than it is today. This enabled (will enable) us to pay so much more to grammar school masters that we attracted (will attract) to those schools teachers at least as good as those going to public schools, so that thereafter the rich saw (will see) no point in buying the public school education.

This is almost wholly divorced from reality. The privilege of public school education has little to do with better teachers—man for man I doubt if they are very much superior to grammar school

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staff. Still less has it anything to do with some subtle atmosphere distilled from the spirit of Matthew Arnold hovering in the quads. It is based on something far more material which I very seldom see mentioned. Having them under their hands all day long *the public schools can give their pupils many more hours of education per week.*

At a typical public school known to me the boys have 38 hours of organised instruction per week, including all games and 1½ hours prep. per night in quiet study or under discipline in hall. The corresponding figure for Wandsworth School (comprehensive) where I taught last year is 28 hours, including 1 hour's prep. in a home where there may be no escape from the tele. The other material factor is size of class—averaging about 22 compared with 32 at Wandsworth.

Speaking to a sixth form at a public school recently I had to say to them: 'Of those at Wandsworth who will seriously try to reach university this year and will fail, two thirds would succeed if they could work under your conditions; of you who will succeed in entering university, two thirds would fail if you worked under Wandsworth conditions.'

This is the measure of the educational privilege which the rich can buy. This is the reason why no wealthy socialist can do other than send his son to public school—he cannot face the vision of his own son, aged 21 and perhaps by then a keen Conservative or Liberal, saying to him: 'You had the means of giving me the best chance, and for your blasted political humbug you didn't do it.'

And *this* is the reason why the Labour Party, in the present temper of the nation, does not and dare not propose to end public schools. Putting it quite brutally, they know that against such an appalling invasion of privilege and inequality, the rich would 'go on strike' in one way or another and bring the economic life of the community to chaos in which (once again in the present temper of the nation) the government would not receive such zestful backing from workers and middle-classes as would win from the chaos a government victory over the rich.

Therefore, let it be perfectly clear, we are not going to have Michael Young's Meritocracy or anything like it merely by accentuating our present tendencies.

If we want educational equality, either we must pay for boarding education for all children—or at least make the qualifying test so

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low that not more than about 10% of the children of the rich would fail; or we must abolish the public schools. The former needs far more than the 2½ times increase in educational expenditure which Young proposes. The latter needs a social zest for real equality of which there is at the moment little sign. Nor, I think, could there be such zest except as one aspect of a social awakening which would have to be basically religious in its quality. This awakening, amongst other things, would convert us, I think, into a purposeful co-operative community, giving us some better objective than the one which runs through Young's book: to beat the foreigner so as to enable each to climb the ladder to the biggest plum he can reach.

It is right to strive for educational equality, because whenever it fully comes, it will not 'feel' like Young's satire which assumes that in all other respects our present social outlook remains unaltered. It will come as part of a religious process through which we shall be converted to social attitudes quite different from those which are now acceptable to most of us.

Oxford.

RICHARD ACLAND.

Social Theory and Christian Thought by W. Stark. Pp. xii + 250. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959. 25s.

Religious Behaviour by Michael Argyle. Pp. xii + 196. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958. 25s.

These two books are a complete contrast in style and method. Mr. Argyle, who is lecturer in Social Psychology at Oxford, has brought together the results of a considerable body of statistical investigations into religious behaviour (of a very varying degree of scale and thoroughness) which have been made between 1900 and 1957 in this country and still more in the U.S.A. This is a valuable service, though it does not make for easy reading in spite of frequent summaries, and evaluations of the data. Moreover the book is very condensed, which means that the reader has to take a good deal of the evidence on trust. Mr. Argyle states very clearly at the outset that religious beliefs are not verifiable in any 'straightforward' way, presumably meaning by that any way to which such statistical investigations easily lend themselves, and that the discovery of 'causes' of religious beliefs, if established, does not bear directly on their truth or falsity. In fact, however, what emerges from the evidence shews how far it is from

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establishing 'causes,' as distinct from indicating certain pre-disposing factors in certain situations. The author's last chapter is a succinct and devastating demonstration of the meagre evidence on which various well known psychological theories of religious behaviour and belief have been based, if indeed such evidence as there is does not refute them. I am led to the conclusion that the effort to secure more empirical facts about religious behaviour is all to the good and a valuable corrective to cloudy generalisations, yet the attempt to arrive at a psychological theory which 'explains' such a complex phenomenon had better be given up. There are too many variables to cope with, and the evidence eludes what is possible by statistical methods based on questionnaires (or by case studies, for that matter).

Only rarely does Mr. Argyle draw conclusions beyond the evidence. There is one glaring example of this on p. 127 where he lumps together three such diverse things as divorce, birth control (*sic*) and pre-marital intercourse and says flatly that religious people are opposed to all of them, when the evidence he quotes with regard to the second bears the other way. He does not move very surely when dealing with the various Christian denominations on pp. 157, 175 and 177, and he appears when dealing with the content of Christian belief to equate 'orthodoxy' with fundamentalism and 'liberalism' with what amounts to Unitarianism, a serious defect which one suspects characterised the questionnaires which lie behind his remarks.

By contrast Dr. Stark, who is Reader in the History of Economic Thought at Manchester, has brought together in one book (which carries the *nihil obstat* and the *imprimatur*) seven essays written for different occasions loosely connected by a common theme. The theme concerns 'the apparent inability of philosophical sociology to do without the concept of the heterogeneity of purposes, that is to say, without the assumption that there is a will working in the social process which is not identical with the wills of the concrete human beings concerned' (p. 62). He relates this to six thinkers, St. Augustine (two essays on whom are the foundation of the book) Pascal, Kierkegaard, Newman, Scheler, Bergson and Meinecke, his purpose being to shew that this assumption (which has to be brought to sociology to order its material and cannot be derived from it) is a basic conviction of Christian theology and gains its strength and coherence from that faith, even though many who have used it, like some of the thinkers he himself discusses, have not realised it.

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The essays are beautifully written, a remarkable achievement for an author whose native language is not English, but one misses the empirical element in which Mr. Argyle's book is so strong. What use has in fact been made and in what circumstances of the theories based on this assumption? The feeling that this element is missing is sharpened because we know, for example, that both *laissez-faire* and Marxist thought use a variation of the assumption in ways Dr. Stark would not approve.

University of Manchester.

RONALD PRESTON.

Television and the Child by H. T. Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim and P. Vince. Pp. xix + 522. London: Oxford University Press (for the Nuffield Foundation), 1958. 42s.

A drawback in the investigation of any volatile social problem is that by the time the results are ready they may well be out-of-date. Those of us who knew that Dr. Himmelweit had embarked, in pre-I.T.V. 1954, on her inquiry into the effects of television on children (and my own knowledge of it came, curiously enough, from having been brought in to keep a watchful eye on a classroom full of her raw material) were afraid that, when this report came out four years later, it would be seriously archaic. The fear was unjustified. This study is many things: an outstandingly thorough contribution to that 'understanding of the true character of mass communication' which, as the preface says, 'is vital in the present world': a small goldmine of techniques of inquiry: a source of revelations, many of them unexpected, about children's use of leisure: a compendium of practical suggestions for parents and teachers and television producers: and also an authoritative and elaborate statement, quite undamaged by long gestation, on its specific field of research.

This was an area where, as Dr. Himmelweit's team discovered when they arrived on the scene, amateur and unsupported cries of alarm were continually being parried by amateur and unsupported cries of reassurance. It still is: but now largely without excuse, since the study gives very clear answers to many of the questions most often and hotly debated. The problem of the effects of violence, in particular, which had given rise to the shrillest exchanges, is now substantially charted. Neither alarmist nor reassurer is left alone in the field: but the grounds for disquiet and satisfaction are helpfully,

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and in some respects surprisingly, re-distributed. The report has some sharp things to say about the models of conduct that television offers to children: 'they exclude all the gentler and more compassionate virtues.' Probably the team's most startling discovery was that three out of four 10-11 year olds view until 9 o'clock; and it is very strongly argued that concern about the effects of television on children must not limit itself to those programmes specifically intended for children.

The tremendous virtue of the study is not so much that it maps, for the first time, a vital and fascinating field, as that it does not hesitate to point out the many morals of its findings. The producer who goes on forgetting that half the child audience is composed of girls: the programme planner who continues to ignore the importance of research into the effects of his programmes: the parent who fails to help his child to view selectively: the teacher who omits to harvest what he can of his children's viewing: and the layman who persists in any of a hundred or so pre-Himmelweit *canards* ('Oh yes: it makes 'em just . . . passive, y'know'); all these will lack excuse now that this most scrupulous and responsible study is available.

London.

EDWARD BLISHEN.

Contemporary Sociology edited by Joseph S. Roucek. Pp. xii + 1209. London: Peter Owen Ltd., 1959. 70s.

This survey of contemporary sociology, is, of course, impossible to review—or even to summarise. It is one of those enormous American volumes which the sceptic dismisses with a shrug or sneer. Neither of these attitudes would be justified in this case. The volume covers a wide variety of fields and does not (as is usual in such works) exclude discussion of trends outside the U.S. There are three major areas of exposition. About 500 pages are devoted to a discussion of 'trends in the U.S.'—the various fields of social enquiry are set out and in at least two sections the links with sociology and social anthropology are described. A second major area deals with 'some applications of sociology'; and a final group of essays (400 pages in length) examines trends outside the U.S. In addition, there is an opening appraisal by Professor Zimmerman and a final 'critical comment' by Professor P. A. Sorokin.

I found the section on American trends the most consistently helpful. There is a certain amount of overlapping and the writing is

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not uniform in quality. But the principal trends, significant or not, are given careful, if at times pedestrian, treatment. In the group of essays on 'applications,' the most refreshing and valuable is that by Professor Lenski on social stratification, though it is hard to see why this area is covered under 'applications' rather than under 'trends.' The group of essays on sociology 'outside the U.S.' is, on the whole, somewhat disappointing—including as it does chapters (understandably thin) on sociology in Russia and the Ukraine. This part of the book deals with a large variety of countries and will have a certain value as a source of reference material. Those familiar with the national literatures will find the material often jejune and superficial. The outstanding exception is the masterly synthesis on Great Britain by Mr. Donald MacRae—which should be made compulsory reading for all those embarking on sociological studies in this country.

Neither Professor Zimmerman nor Professor Sorokin (whose pronouncements respectively open and close this volume) shows himself in general sympathy with the more fashionable American trends. Both of them resent the distortions which have resulted from neopositivism and exaggerated empiricism. Professor Zimmerman offers interesting ideas on the hold which American publishing practices exert on the social sciences—a hold which he claims reduces the volume of worthwhile literature. Professor Sorokin repeats many of the entertaining points which are to be found in his 'Fads and Fallacies in Modern Sociology.' There is clearly a measure of healthy exaggeration in some of their claims. There are many publishing houses in the United States, (such as the Free Press for example), which are clearly absolved from Professor Zimmerman's strictures. Again, not all empirical work is trivial or crude; nor, (despite its comic side) is the theoretical analysis of group life entirely 'fallacious.' Nonetheless the critiques offered of such work are given urgency in this book by the underlying belief that sociology and social thought (in the old and somewhat philosophical sense) should not be too sharply divorced. This is a very worthy cause; it also claims more American adherents than Professor Sorokin for one, seems prepared to admit.

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S. J. GOULD.

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Psychiatry in the British Army in the Second World War by Robert H. Ahrenfeldt. Pp. xv + 312. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958. 35s.

In 1959, fourteen years after the end of the Second World War, a book-title such as this is unlikely, at first sight, to cause much excitement to the sociologist. A peep inside the book, however, produces a very different state of mind.

Dr. Ahrenfeldt has produced a book on social psychiatry which, in spite of its specialised topic, is highly impressive. It is a tribute to his literary skill, and perhaps to his biological research experience also, that he has now produced a shorter book which bears none of the signs of a mere summary.

Most of us know, or think that we know, something about psychiatry in the British Army in the last war. Only from this book, however, can we get easily a real acquaintance with the remarkably wide scope and varied interest of the work of the army psychiatrists.

This is the story of the penetration of a huge military organisation by some of the basic ideas of psychiatry, psychology and sociology. Necessarily, therefore, a few of the pages are devoted to the history of changes introduced by slow stages. The Army abbreviations, moreover, may at first hamper somewhat any reader quite unused to them—in spite of the 'key' provided for us by the considerate author.

The main narrative runs smoothly through its 300 pages, enlivened by a pleasant style, enchanting chapter headings and some pleasantly malicious foot-notes. The story is fascinating, objective and accurate. There are a good index, three useful appendices and two excellent bibliographies. Any library of applied psychiatry or psychology or sociology needs this book; and alongside it should stand *Personnel Selection in the British Army* by the psychologists, P. E. Vernon and J. B. Parry.

Warlingham Park Hospital,
Surrey.

S. A. MACKEITH.

Land of Choice by John Kosa. Pp. 104. University of Toronto Press (London: Oxford University Press), 1957. 28s.

There are signs which indicate that the sociological study of the relations between ethnic groups is in the course of becoming one

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of the major topics of the scientific study of society in our time. Mr. Kosa, who is teaching now at the Department of Sociology at Cornell University, Ithaca, investigates in this book the life of the Hungarian immigrant group in Canada with special reference to the processes of social adaptation and cultural assimilation. The author enjoys the advantage of having been 'reared' in the central European school of sociology and of having also 'assimilated' the field research methods fashionable in his own 'land of choice.' He is therefore able to use the old world methods of historically oriented social and cultural analysis as well as the typical new world techniques of interviewing and scale-constructing in a fruitful manner. He has the further advantage of having had direct experience of the social structure of modern Hungary as well as of the economic and cultural characteristics of Canada. The result of his investigation is the revealing picture of the processes of social and personal disintegration, consequent on emigration—and of the typical phases of assimilation which follow the arrival into the new country of immigrants. The author shows how this process of integration and transformation is brought about by the magic of that new alchemists' stone which is commonly known as 'Democracy.'

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JOHN EROS.

Readings in General Psychology edited by Paul Halmos and Alan Iliffe. Pp. x + 251. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1959. 25s.

Halmos & Iliffe favour 'narrow-deep' sampling rather than the 'broad-shallow' reviewing of more common elementary texts. Many of these readings do fulfil prefatory promises of 'providing a more inspiring introduction to the beginner,' notably the lucid papers written for the British Association and those by Burt and Oldfield, aimed, without mannerism or jargon, at intelligent non-psychologists, but proper diet for Honours freshmen.

Others, however, are on such specialised or illcharted topics (e.g. electroencephalography and 'group dynamics') as are better left until a background has been acquired of physiology, experimental method and social psychology.

A puzzling 'introductory' choice is 'Psychology and Ethics' by Halmos. The argument might stimulate a senior seminar particularly

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those with adequate philosophical training. To attempt, however, to convince tyros of the 'unity of a moral-psychological science' and to present psychology and ethics as 'Janus faces of the same reality' seems calculated only to damage the confidence of earnest climbers seeking their first firm footholds, from which eventually, perhaps, to follow the Joe Browns who conquer the peaks by sophisticated 'finger-jamming' techniques.

University of Hull.

GEORGE WESTBY.

Educational Research, Vol. 1, No. 2, February 1959. Pp. 80.
London: Newnes Education Publishing Co. Ltd., (for National Foundation for Educational Research in England & Wales) 5s. 6d.

Technical Education, Vol. 1, No. 1, February 1959. Pp. 52.
London: Evans Brothers Ltd., 2s. 6d.

Despite overcrowding on the site these are welcome additions to the field of journal literature. Both show a healthy desire to be of practical use to those engaged in educational work.

The aim of *Educational Research* is one of synthesis, gathering together research findings and applying these to particular sectors. A series of articles, loosely linked, to cover a major topic will prove particularly useful, the number under review having the first of a series on 'The Teaching of Mathematics' and the second of one on 'Teaching Children to Read.'

Technical Education aims more at being a forum of discussion, in which the needs of industry and their link with those involved in technical education at all levels might be mooted and appraised. Magazine-like in layout, it is nevertheless of first-class quality. Whilst as a matter of editorial policy it concerns itself primarily with 'specific parts of the field,' it promises also to keep constantly in mind 'the broader issues.' It is essential to the well-being of technical education (though perhaps not necessarily to *Technical Education*) that the promise be fulfilled.

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KENNETH CHARLTON.

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Dartington Hall by Victor Bonham-Carter. Pp. 224. London: Phoenix House, 1958. 30s.

This book is a well-written and sympathetic account of the remarkable enterprise founded in 1925 by Leonard and Dorothy Elmhurst. It is—as the sub-title tells us—‘the history of an experiment’ and Mr. Bonham-Carter has succeeded brilliantly in describing the complex pattern of success and failure which has marked its progress. He writes with refreshing frankness and humour.

The importance of Dartington Hall to people interested in the British countryside lies in the fact that it is one of the very rare attempts to revive and maintain a rural way of life in Britain. One may disagree with the ideas and methods of its founders but this does not detract in any way from the significance of what they have achieved: because of this, *Dartington Hall* is not only a detailed record of an isolated venture, it is also an essay in applied rural sociology, a field of study which can hardly be said to exist in this country. There are also sections of the book dealing with the well-known activities in the arts and music, and a fascinating account of Dartington School by W. B. Curry.

Mr. Bonham-Carter has written an honest, painstaking study which deserves to be widely and carefully read. He has perhaps been a little too ambitious in trying to include material on every aspect of life at Dartington—some of the detail can hardly be of interest to the general reader—but this is a small fault in a first class book.

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W. M. WILLIAMS.

The Healing Voice by A. Philip Magonet. Pp. viii + 205. London: Wm. Heinemann, 1959. 18s.

The great practitioners of human welfare and of medicine are, as a rule, indifferent writers. Dr. Magonet too, may have helped many a psychoneurotic patient, yet a book of this nature will not do justice to a rich and fruitful practice.

Presumably the book is for the lay reader. Its purpose is—according to the blurb—to explain medical hypnosis ‘in straightforward terms.’ They are at times too straightforward. ‘Hypnotism is absolutely safe,’ Dr. Magonet states, ‘There is no case on record

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reporting harmful results from its therapeutic use by doctors.' Yet in many instances it is not at all certain that his interventions are to the good of all. When, for instance, he unblushingly relates how under hypnosis he told a woman not to leave her husband (p. 170) one wonders whether marriage guidance with the help of post-hypnotic suggestion is not too crude a method. And when we read how under hypnosis he suggested a substitute symptom to an asthmatic, 'your right foot will get itchy, but you will not wheeze' (p. 93) it is hardly possible to suppress our exasperation at so much presumption. This arrogation of moral authority over the patient's life and this arbitrary manipulation of the patient's conversion symptoms cannot but enhance suspicion of hypnosis. Nor does the grossly careless use of diagnostic terms add to our confidence in the wielders of so much power. 'Often the neurotic depressed person will over-eat and gain weight whereas the psychologically depressed person often refuses food.' I take it that in Dr. Magonet's view 'neurotic depressed' is not 'psychologically depressed.' This kind of loose talk is unforgivable.

One could say that this book may encourage the naïve lay reader to feel sympathetic to hypnosis but it fails to inform him of the most frequent objections to its medical use.

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PAUL HALMOS.

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Copies of the Bibliography and Supplements are obtainable from: The Joint University Council for Social and Public Administration,

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